

The background of the entire page is a white surface covered with numerous red splatters and streaks, resembling blood. The splatters are most concentrated in the upper half of the page, with some large, vertical streaks running down the center and sides.

# INDIAN GOVERNMENT ORGANISED CARNAGE

(SARKARI QATL-E-AAM)

*Also Available in Hindi, Punjabi & Urdu Language*

**"NOV. 1984"**

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

# INDIAN GOVERNMENT-ORGANISED THE CARNAGE

THE FIGHT IS GOING ON SINCE “NOV.1984 CARNAGE”  
AGAINST THE STATE TERRORISM ORGANISED

BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

*GURCHARAN SINGH BABBAR*

*AUTHOR & SOCIAL ACTIVIST*

*PRESIDENT*

*ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)*

## “Nov. 1984”

# **Qaumipatrika Newspaper Group**

5, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, Press Area

ITO, New Delhi-110002

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011-65167910, 011-23315814

website: aisc-b.org

Author : Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar.

Rs. : 350/-

USD 12

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PRINTED IN INDIA

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Published by Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar

printed at Qaumi Patrika press A-4/144 Tronica City Loni Ghaziabad (U.P) published at  
415, Qaumi Patrika Newspaper Group 5, Bahudur Shah Zafar Marg, Press Area, ITO,  
New Delhi-110002

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
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**THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY of MY  
BELOVED PARENTS**

● **Late Sardar Jaswant Singh** (Father)

Birth Place  
Village- Gaia, Tehsil Chakwal,  
Distt. Jhelam (Now in Pakistan)

● **Late Smt. Dhanvanti Jee** (Mother)

Father's Name: Shri Lala Prabh Dayal Ji  
Birth Place  
Tehsil Chakwal,  
Distt. Jhelam (Now in Pakistan)

● **Late Smt. Daljeet Kaur** (Dharam Mata)

● **Late Sardar Inder Singh** (Elder Brother)

And

This book is also dedicated to the memory of 5,000 Sikh who were killed and hundreds of Gurudwara and Sri Guru Granth Shaib that were burnt in November 1984

**MY FIGHTER TEAM MATE LEADERS**

- GIANI HARJEET SINGH –ROHINI
- S. ATMA SINGH LUBANA –TILAK NAGAR
- S.GURBACHANN SINGH KHALSA – NEW SHAIB PURA
- S.JARNAIL SINGH – SANGAM PARK
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- S.DARSHAN SINGH BHATIA –GEETA COLONY
- S.MAAN SINGH - KALKAJI
- S.PRITAM SINGH - KALKAJI
- S.JAGMOHAN SINGH – SANT GARH

**MY REAL POWER**

**Smt. Tejinder Kaur Babbar (wife)**

**Ms. Simmi Babbar (Daughter)**

***Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar (Author) Spend long 25 years for justice publically on record but Mr. Babbar totally failed to achieve the goal due to Corrupt judicial system in India. For more information please look into chapter 2 & page No. 5.***



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Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar

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Education from: Delhi University

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Government Organized Carnage

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In English, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu Language Editions

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## About the Author

Mr Gurcharan Singh Babbar is the author of the book. He has completed his education from Delhi University. He is the editor in Chief of two national newspapers “Qaumi Patrika Rashtriya Dainik Hindi” and “Rashtriya Dainik Qaumi Patrika Punjabi” respectively. All India Sikh Conference has been formed for the victims of 1984 carnage. It is indeed difficult to talk about an issue that has been so frequently discussed and that too which has left a universal stamp. 1984 carnage is one such issue.

This is the story of victims who survived the trauma of 1984 massacre. The author is now ready to give voice to thousands who have suffered. A herculean task indeed. However,

All India Sikh Conference has been constituted to raise the voice of voiceless and downtrodden Sikh families. After the death of Late Indira Gandhi , the Sikh community went through trauma and pain that cannot be described in words.

Mr. Babbar is fighting for Sikh victims rights. Since then, there was no looking back for him. He did not leave any stone unturned. He is consistent in his approach.

The writer has accompanied thousands of riot victims that took place in Delhi on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1984. He had started his journey from “Amar Jyoti”. Thereafter, along with thousands of people, he had informed President of India about his mission. He had asked Indian Government for judicial inquiry in this matter. Since then, the author had done 1970 protests that include hunger strikes, pedestrian march, Black day and Black week and martyr conferences. As a general secretary, the author of the book sent memorandum to all major leaders of the country like President, Prime Minister, Governor, Commissioner, Parliament house, High Court and the Supreme Court.

Moreover, author went to all parts of country for getting justice.

The year 1987 was worst in the life of author. He was targeted by the Government in several ways. He was declared and labeled as “the most wanted blood thirsty terrorist”.

But the story had taken a new turn when the influential politicians, leaders, political parties, philosophers, historians and non -government organizations stood in favor of the author. All of them had hugely

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage

opposed labeling of author as a terrorist. Ex-Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Mr. Indra Kumar Gujral, Mr. George Fernandes, Mrs. Menaka Gandhi, Swami Agnivesh, Justice Ranjeet Singh Narula (High Court), Senior Journalist Mr. Kuldeep Nayyar, Ex -Central Minister Mr. P. Upendra, Syed Shahbuddin Ex. Member of Parliament, Mr. Aarif Muhammad Khan , Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhary, Chowdhary Ajeet Singh, Justice Rajinder Sacchar(High Court), Justice V.M Tarakunde, Retired Lieutenant General Jagjeet Singh Arora and Mr. Surendra Mohan to name a few.

Mr. Babbar was the only person in the country who was declared the most wanted terrorist. The leaders pressurized the Government to the maximum level. The efforts showed results, Delhi Police went to Delhi Court. They took back their statement and apologized Mr. Babbar.

“ No No Mr Babbar is not a terrorist”. Delhi Police said.

Ex -Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh Quoted “ Most of the times Governments give awards and prizes to its well wishers. That means the awarded person does not get award with consent of all parties. However, in your case all the parties have same opinion. Furthermore, You can interpret this declaration as Bharat Ratna.”

When Mr. Vishwanath Singh was chosen the Prime minister of India. He called the author and asked him to join his party. He straight forwardly answered him, “I need to work in favor of Sikh victims and I will seek help from you definitely. Then only I would be able to take decision to join your party or not”. This has not happened as of now.

The author had to face lots of tribulations during his fight against injustice. The government had terrorized him outrageously. He had been sent to Tihar jail, Lal Quila Terrorist Cell and police stations for interrogations . He had gone through a lot of mental trauma and pain.

The author's life is dedicated for victims of communal riots. Mrs Dhanwanti is the author's mother and Sardar jaswant Singh is the author's father , His Dharam Mata's name is Mrs Daljeet Kaur, The name of author's wife is Mrs Tejinder Kaur Babbar and his avid supporters are his sources of inspiration.

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Author married in a riot hit family that had proved his commitment towards his work. He has one daughter named “ Kako Singh Babbar” and wife Mrs Tejinder Kaur Babbar . They have never left him in ups and downs.

He was traumatized by Indian Government by filing false cases against him. The government agencies raided his offices number of times. The government conspirators shook hands with DRI. DRI raided his one of the offices. They took away all the crucial details, documents, police reports and credentials related to 1984 massacre. These documents have not been returned by the government so far. The author was not present in the office at that time. DRI department forcefully asked people to sign who were illiterate. Then they took away all the documents. It was done as directed by the Congress party. The author was not religious though he worked for humanity to maximum extent.

His mother is from a Hindu family and his father is an orthodox Sikh. Once, he was blind folded and he was taken to unusual place by Delhi Police Special cell. Later, he came to know that the place was Lal Quila. He was surrounded by High Rank officials. He was tortured physically and psychologically. The incident left an indelible mark on him.

But due to heavy pressure, Delhi Police had to leave him. The author had not stopped himself.

Despite the fact he got death threats everyday. Many a times, he was asked to stop raising voice regarding Sikh injustice by big time Sikh business men. They were sent by Government as mediators. Once, he was invited by Late Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi at his residence “7 Race Course”. Late Rajeev Gandhi asked him to talk in person.

Rajeev Gandhi said to Mr Babbar that “if u could leave this issue it would be fruitful for you. You can get whatever you want. We are requesting you to stop elevating this issue. In return you can get what you have not even thought of in your dreams. Moreover,

If you want to settle abroad we can make arrangements for you.” The author denied his offer.” This began suffering and distress in the life of author. He was the major target of the government. The author has an optimistic approach towards his mission. He is being pulled in several false conspiracies.

(III)

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage

Mr. Babbar did not have enough funds to hold meetings, hunger strikes so on so forth. He was questioned about finances, how and who gave him financial support for number of meetings as lacs of rupees were spent on meetings?

We are honest and trustworthy; we need to give answers to our conscience, readers should know everything right from top to bottom. The author is a true journalist and social causes interest him very much.

Mr.Babbar had worked on a secret plan. This plan had made his work easy. The author had come on good talking terms with high ranked Sikh Delhi police officials. They had helped Mr.Babbar in his task. During this time, Sikhs had been viewed as intruders and terrorists. Delhi Police had started asking bribe on these grounds from innocent Sikh people. The author had helped these small time business men. Hence, he had made good bonding with them.

Mr. Babbar started his struggle with patience. Rather than taking their financial help . He asked them to support him by arranging tents, buses, posters, food, press conferences,etc. And whenever he fell short of money, he organized large religious conventions to collect funds. This gave him finances for his effort. The author knew that,

if he would ask money for his efforts he would be questioned and nobody would trust him. This was the reason he was never inquired about money in his 25 years of struggle for justice. The author was an unknown person at social, political and religious front.

He began his struggle at an early age. He was only 24 years old when he began his fight. At this tender age, he was committed to his goal. The result of 1984 riots was heart breaking. Many girls lost their husbands in their 20's and 30's. But nobody questioned his character while helping them.

Mr.Babbar is contented with his true efforts. He is satisfied that he gets respect and affection from the riot hit victim's families. Mr., Babbar mourns the fact that killers of innocent Sikhs are breathing in open air. They have crushed thousands of lives and they are living normal lives. Mr. Babbar thinks that he has lost the battle against cruelty. He further thinks that the efforts he put in during his youth have gone in vain.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
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# **My Life is Targeted By -Killers & Conspirator's**

Already my life is in danger, after the release of this book I will be in more danger as I am getting frequent threatens that me and my family will be destroyed. There have been attacks before on me. The criminally accused big Politicians who are now in ruling party in Central Government and the accused High Ranked Officers in Delhi Police have tried level best to restrict my pen and my voice against the injustice, but they never succeeded in their evil intensions. But it is understood that these big Politicians and the High rank officers are very powerful and are capable of doing any thing. I, declare here that if me and my family members are been eliminated then the accused Politicians and the accused Policemen will be fully responsible, as I have already mentioned their names in my book.

Author

-Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar

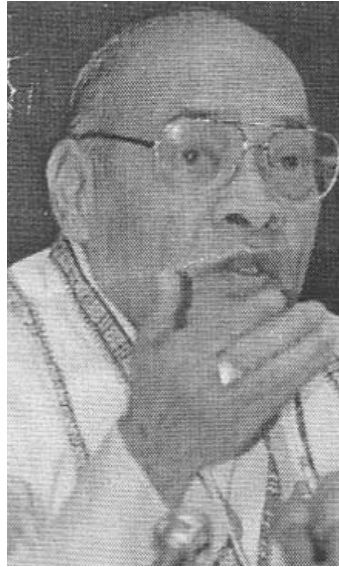
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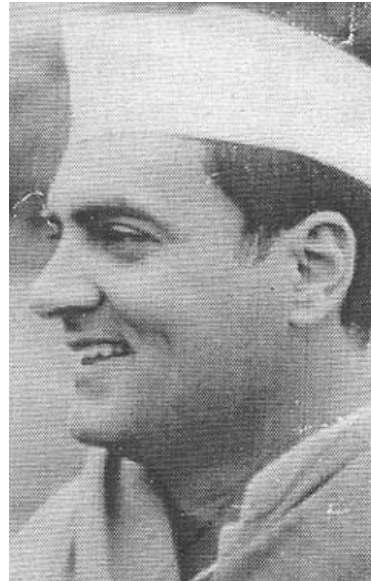


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# Conspirator's



**Mr. P.V. Narshimha Rao**  
Then Home Minister of India



**Late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi**  
Then Prime Minister of India



**Mr. M.K. Wali**  
Then home secretary



**Mr. Bhajan Lal**  
Then Chief Minister of Haryana



## FOREWORD

**"MAN'S STRUGGLE AGAINST POWER  
IS THE STRUGGLE OF MEMORY AGAINST FORGETFULNESS."  
(MILAN KUNDERA, THE BOOK OF LAUGHTER AND FORGETTING)**

THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT ORGANISED AND EXECUTED THE GENOCIDE OF 5,000 SIKHS IN DELHI AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA IN NOVEMBER, 1984 IN THE WAKE OF MRS. INDIRA GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION. AMONG THOSE WHO PLAYED A DIRECT ROLE IN THE GENOCIDE ARE, THE LATE PRIME MINISTER. MR. RAJIV GANDHI, THE THEN HOME MINISTER, MR. P V NARASIMHA RAO (WHO WAS ALSO PRIME MINISTER FOR FIVE YEARS FROM 1991-1996), MR. ARUN NEHRU, MR. BHAJAN LAL (THEN THE CHIEF MINISTER OF HARYANA), PROMINENT FORMER PARLIAMENTARIANS, HKL BHAGAT, JAGDISH TYTLER AND SAJJAN KUMAR, THE FORMER LT. GOVERNOR OF DELHI, MR. P G GAVAI, THE FORMER HOME SECRETARY MR. M K WALI AND THE FORMER POLICE COMMISSIONER, MR. SUBHASH TONDON.

BESIDES THE KILLINGS, THE ANTI-SIKH VIOLENCE UPROOTED 50,000 FAMILIES, WHO BECAME REFUGEES IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. ANOTHER 20,000 PEOPLE WERE INJURED FOR LIFE, HUNDREDS OF GURUDWARAS WERE DESTROYED AND THOUSANDS OF COPIES OF THE SIKH HOLY BOOK, GURU GRANTH SAHIB, WERE BURNT. HUNDREDS OF SIKH WOMEN WERE GANG-RAPED, THOUSANDS WERE WIDOWED AND ORPHANED. AT THE END OF THIS PRE-PLANNED AND GROTEQUE VIOLENCE, MR. RAJIV GANDHI, WHO TOOK OVER AS PRIME MINISTER AFTER HIS MOTHER'S ASSASSINATION, JUSTIFIED IT ALL WITH HIS INFAMOUS WORDS. "WHEN A GREAT TREE FALLS THE EARTH SHAKES",

FOURTEEN YEARS LATER, THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS ARE STILL WAITING FOR JUSTICE AND THE ORGANISERS OF THE GENOCIDE ARE STILL ROAMING FREE. SOME OF THEM EVEN ENJOY THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY'S BEST-TRAINED COMMANDOES. NOT ONE OF THOSE ACCUSED OF DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE KILLINGS HAS BEEN CONVICTED AND PUNISHED. POLICE OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VIOLENCE, INSTEAD OF BEING PUNISHED, HAVE BEEN PROMOTED, EVEN GIVEN THE PRESIDENT'S AWARD FOR GALLANTRY, IN 1997. THE JUDICIARY AND THE MEDIA ARE SILENT ON THE ISSUE. THE ENTIRE NATIONAL ENERGY IS BEING SPENT ON DEBATING WHITE-COLLAR CRIMES AND THEIR IMPACT ON NATIONAL POLITICS AND CHARACTER. THERE IS A NEAR AMNESIA ABOUT CORE ISSUES LIKE THE NOVEMBER, 1984 ANTI-SIKH VIOLENCE.

THIS BOOK IS AN ENDEAVOUR TO REMIND THE GENERAL PUBLIC, THE SOCIO-POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA ABOUT THE BLOODIEST CHAPTER IN FREE INDIA'S HISTORY. BECAUSE, IN OUR REMEMBERING LIES THE HOPE OF THE VICTIMS' FAMILIES FOR JUSTICE.

GURCHARAN SINGH BABBAR

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**Organised by Indi**

# Killer's



**Mr. Jagdish Tytler**  
**Then Union Minister of India**



**Mr. Sajjan Kumar**  
**Then Member of Parliament**



**Mr. H.K.L. Bhagat**  
**Then Union Minister of India**



**Mr. Arun Nehru**  
**Then Union Minister of India**



**Mr. P.G. Gavai**  
**Then Lt. Governor of Delhi**



**Mr. Subhash Tandon**  
**Then Police Commissioner of Delhi**

## **Where have the dead bodies of Sikhs gone?**

After the death of Late Indira Gandhi, Late Rajeev Gandhi and his closest trained pawns cum friends had killed 5,000 guiltless and innocent Sikhs .They had lawlessly disrespected dead bodies of Sikh people. History had never seen such brutality. The Government employed killers had continuously killed sinless people of Sikh community for four days in and out. Thereafter, the tricky Rajeev Gandhi Government had planned to dispose off the dead bodies intelligently and deceitfully.

As a matter of fact, if a soldier from enemy country is killed in our country, he is cremated according to his religious beliefs respectfully with pride and honor. Moreover, his body is not dumped off the way it happened with dead Sikhs. For instance, if we look into history our national father Late Mahatma Gandhi's assassinator was also cremated according to his religion. Here, we are not able to trace bodies of dead Sikhs. Who, where, when and how they were cremated. It was a difficult task ahead for the government to dispose 5,000 dead bodies. The question arises, how many days did Government take to cremate the dead bodies? And how many dead bodies were burnt in a day?? .

Where the dead bodies were kept and in what circumstances the dead bodies were burnt?

Government has no answer for these questions. In addition to that, Government is tongue tied when it is asked that where the thousands of Sikhs were cremated. Which hospital they were kept in? Who were the doctors at that time? How many team of doctors were forced in to do the task? Government did not tell that dead bodies were burnt one body at a time or in bundles of 20. Whether, the Sikhs who were killed were not cremated according to their Sikh rituals. They were burnt by electricity. Four days and four nights innocent, and without weapon Sikhs were all of a sudden killed by hundreds of people .The killers did not spare any Sikh family. The way, ten wild dogs kill a lion. This was certainly not an incident of bravery. But it was an incident of deceit and cowardliness.

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To collect the dead bodies of Sikhs government had hired private persons for the task. They were intoxicated with English wine . Dead Bodies of Sikhs were treated with contempt.

Indira Gandhi was termed as “Durga maata” to scintillate the emotional feelings of killers. Sikhs were called as traitors and agents of Pakistan in their own country by their fellow country men. They wanted to break our nation and did not want to keep harmony in the country. It was certainly disastrous.

It lead hatred in the minds and souls of killers, they started seeking revenge from blameless Sikhs. It was an ironical situation for sure. The peace loving community of Sikhs was not in a position to defend them. They were blamed to be spy. Indira Gandhi was termed as Durga maata ,they have killed our mother, our national mother, we should seek revenge from Sikhs. Their emotions were boosted by the speech from Government officials and politicians. We should slash them; we should rip off their necks and set them ablaze. This is Gods work .You will bear fruits in your life, and durga maata will be contented. The government officials bribed the workers with ease. And let their work completed by offering them cartons of wine. Workers started piling up the bodies of Sikhs in rickshaws, vendor vehicles, three wheelers. The dishonorable situation scared common persons. Government officials and police began piling up the bodies on tempos to hurl in farmlands for burning them using kerosene oil, petrol and diesel.

Government officials took ten days to burn the dead bodies.This went for days and nights. In these ten days 5000 bodies were burnt disrespectfully. Everyday approximately 500 Sikhs were burnt to death secretly so that nobody comes to know the brutality.

Burnt bodies had been taken away using spades and big containers via trucks to different locations in different ways, to dispose ash in deep water.

A famous quotation, describes the situation, “ na rahega baans na rahegi bansuri”. Thousands tones of petrol ,kerosene,diesel,was bought by

government to pour upon Sikh people .Nearly 2000 people were given the work of disposing the dead bodies. 100 tempos were rented to do the

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work for disposing the dead bodies .Thousands of liquor cartons were distributed free of cost among the workers to dispose the ash in the flowing water.

21<sup>st</sup> century India

Humanity was cursed in India. And this happened where the biggest temple of justice exists. The temple was locked for 4 days. The judges slept in deep slumber like kumbhkaran. They acted like eunuchs and slept in their wives cozy arms.

They were duty bound to their posts of judge .There designation was a ray of hope for people. Centuries had passed awaiting the supreme courts decision on brutal massacre. When will the temple of justice wake up? When will they get up from deep slumber? No body knows, when will their conscious tell them to work for humanity?

This fight is still going on. Sufferers are not dead, They are living with pain in their hearts and burden in their souls ,They are waiting for justice. Accused are roaming around with no fear of law near the temple of justice.

The Supreme Court has to be decisive on 1984 massacre and the supreme court should take strict action against the criminals right away otherwise , a question mark will be put on the temple of justice forever.

Historians will keep questioning the Supreme Court and they will pull Supreme Court in the court of law.

Who were the killers?

Where they had come from?

Where are they?

Had they come from Pakistan?

Had they come from Bangladesh?

Or had they come from any other country?

Had they come from Maharashtra? Had they come from Rajasthan?

Or Had they come from a different state?

No the killers were from delhi. And they are still staying in Delhi. Then how many people killed 5,000 sikh people, How many criminals had wounded 20,000 Sikh people. The people who set ablaze thousands of Gurudwaras and Guru Granth Sahibs are from Delhi. For the past 24 years ,killers and culprits who killed thousands innocent Sikhs are roaming on the streets of Delhi without fear. Neither Delhi head quarters nor Supreme

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Court had guts to arrest the conspirators and culprits. The court remembers Jesica Lal murder case, fodder scam, Gujjar revolt, pollution. Sealing 30 years old houses, Matto murder case, R.K. Anand case, I. U. Khan case. If Supreme court can take suo-motuo action against them, why can't this government, take action against the killers of innocent Sikhs.

One should ask government, Where have 5000 innocent Sikhs gone? Had they been eaten by earth or had they flown in the sky? Where are they?

Dead bodies of Sikhs had been eaten by animals and birds.

Four days and four nights the bodies of Sikhs fell down. Lakhs of people were seeing the dirty game of politics. The way butcher cut animals, in the same manner Sikhs were killed. They were burnt alive shamelessly. Bodies were falling down. Stray dogs were eating the corpses of Sikh people. Eagles, crows and dogs were having treat on the roads. The pieces of legs and hands were seen in the mouths of dogs. It was a common scene on the Delhi roads. Blood filled bodies of Sikhs were splattered on roads, fields, lanes, dustbins, and parks. The police administration, government was not vigilant at all. It had no importance. Then animals had to eat the dead bodies. Nobody can stop birds, eagles and crows to eat brazenly the carcass of Sikhs. At many places the dead bodies of Sikhs were thrown into pits, gutters, manholes, farmlands. Bodies were not picked up by the administration on time, eventually the residents of the locality had started picking up the dead bodies themselves and threw them at far distant places. Humanity was crushed by the hands of politicians and government officials. Is this not happened? Where are the dead bodies of Sikhs? Government has no answers?

- \* Where are 5000 dead bodies of the Sikhs?
- \* Who has done their cremation?
- \* Where the dead bodies are cremated?
- \* How many days were taken by the government to cremate 5000 Sikh people?
- \* How many people were cremated in a day?
- \* Where they kept the dead bodies of Sikh people?
- \* What was the name of the hospital and where was mortuary located?
- \* How many doctors performed the post mortem?
- \* The dead bodies were cremated one at a time or in dozens?

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- \* Were they cremated using electricity?
- \* Were the dead bodies burnt using ghee wood and other ingredients?
- \* Were they cremated according to the Sikh religion?
- \* Were they cremated using kerosene petrol or any other chemical?
- \* Who spend the money for buying the material? Who spend money Central government or Delhi government?
- \* Where are the ash of Sikhs? Post cremation?
- \* Who were the people who cremated dead Sikhs? What was their religion?
- \* Where did they throw dead bodies? in Haridwar or Punjab's Kartarpur sahib?
- \* Any priest was called or any person from Sikh community was called to cremate the dead bodies?
- \* Did somebody click photographs while cremation?
- \* If Government had cremated the bodies. Where are the site watchers when bodies were cremated in the crematorium ? Who were the officials who approved the cremation?
- \* How did Government gather the dead bodies of Sikhs from far off places . Which department was given orders to do the task. In the History of Sikh culture such an incident had never taken place. The gruesome gang rapes and molestations with sikh women. The holy book of Sikhs Guri Granth Sahibs were put on fire in large quantity. This had never happened even in the times of Mughals or Britishers. This horrendous mass destruction had taken place in our own country by our own government. It is shame on them and History will never spare the Indian Government for "1984 carnage."



Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## “SEEK BLOOD FOR BLOOD”

"Kill them." "Burn them." "Get all the bloody Sardars." "Let no Sikh survive."  
"Loot them and burn their houses." "Let nothing remain of the community, not a trace."  
" They killed our leader, let no child of theirs live." "Burn their turbans."

*“Jab tak sooraj chand rahega, Indira tera naam rahega  
Indira Gandhi amar rahe, Indira Gandhi amar rahe  
Bharat mata ki jai, bolo Bharat Mata ki jai  
Indira Gandhi amar rahe”*

(Indira Gandhi's name will live as long as the sun and moon live. Long live Indira Gandhi, salute Mother India)

*"Neelie peelie rehne nahin deni,  
Sat Sri Akal kehne nahin deni  
Kachcha kara aur kirpaan bhej denge Pakistan."*

(The reference here is to Sikh religious symbols including their deep blue and saffron coloured turbans and the reference to Pakistan here is symbolic for 'enemy' territory. Don't let any blue or saffron turban remain, don't let Sikhs greet each other. Let their religious symbols be destroyed and let all Sikhs be banished to Pakistan.)

"Let no Gurudwara remain. Burn them all." "Get their (the Sikh) women and daughters and parade them naked in the streets."

*"Khoon ka badla khoon, Khoon ka badla khoon  
Indira Gandhi amar rahe."*

(Seek blood for blood, long live Indira Gandhi.)

*“ Khatam kar do Pakistan ke agenton ko  
Khatam kar do desh ke gaddaron ko,  
desh ke gaddaron ko jute maro salon ko”*

**(Eliminate the bloody traitors. Eliminate these Pakistani agents. Beat them with shoes.)**

These slogans echoed in every street and square of Delhi. There was violence everywhere. One could hear the cries of the Sikh victims coming from all directions. Smoke was billowing out of burning Gurudwaras and houses, shops, factories and other property of Sikhs. Sikhs were being dragged out of their homes to be butchered. Killings were carried out in various ways, each more spine-chilling than the other. Some victims were beaten with iron rods until all that was left of them were a few last breaths. Many were burnt alive after being garlanded with kerosene-soaked tyers, lit with much



*Widows of Nov. 1984 victims demonstrating outside the Supreme Court in 1985*



DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

ceremony. No Sikh the mob could lay its hands on was spared, not even young children, old men and women.

After every killing, the killer crowds gathered around the corpse and danced and yelled with joy : "*Jab tak suraj chand rahega, Indira tera naam rahega* (Indira Gandhi's name will live as long as the sun and the moon live)".

Every time the mob spotted a Sikh, it burst into joy : " Here comes a Sardar." " We have found one here, " another crowd would yell. The killers were combing the residential colonies and markets for Sikhs, a majority of whom were killed right in their homes. After killing the men, the mob raped their wives and daughters. There was nobody to rescue Sikh men from the massacre and Sikh women from gang-rape. Some Delhi police men were also among those involved in the carnage.

Sikh women begged the killers to spare their men and children. The more they begged, the more savage did the killers become. Sikhs were killed with knives, iron rods, petrol and kerosene and a strange, white chemical which did not need a match to burn. Dragged out of their homes, pulled out of public and private transport, Sikh men were killed savagely and then abandoned to be eaten by dogs, cats, pigs and crows. Nature's scavengers, the vultures, never got a chance to feast on these dead bodies because they are wary of descending down to busy roads and squares.

The lucky ones got a mass funeral. Truckloads of corpses were unloaded and burnt with kerosene oil. Thousands did not need cremation because they were burnt alive. The killers carted away televisions, videos, clothes, cupboards full of household goodies and refrigerators. Among them, those who grabbed cash and jewelry looked most content.

The air was thick with rumours. One rumor had it that Sikhs of Punjab were sending train-loads of dead Hindus. Another rumour was that Sikhs had poisoned Delhi's water.

Doordarshan, the official electronic media, had its own story to tell. The focus of the film footage on Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination was on her dead body and mobs around it, chanting, "*khoon ka badla khoon* (seek blood for blood)."

It was apparently the government's way of instructing the nation what to do, of justifying the savagery displayed towards the entire Sikh community. Five thousand Sikhs were brutally killed in four days. Thousands of others were wounded. Many more rendered homeless. Hospitals were not closed but nobody dared to take the victims to hospital. The police had already made clear whose side it was on.



*Sardarni Pritam Kaur, Wife of the late Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Who released the boook Sarkari Qqtl-e-Aam writen by Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar presenting the Punjabi edition of Sikh leader Sardar Simranjit Singh Mann.*

# A BLACK MARK ON THE SUPREME COURT

In an unprecedented move, the Supreme Court remained locked for four days from October 31, the day of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, to November 4, the day the gory anti-Sikh violence reached its climax. The Supreme Court of India, as the name suggests, is the highest seat of justice. The Supreme Court is an anchor of hope and faith in the system for the entire nation. The Supreme Court is also seen as one of the pillars of the Indian democracy.

After 1947, when India became free from British rule, many historic judgements and orders of the Supreme Court have given the Indian people a new hope about the strength of the Indian judiciary. There have been many occasions when the honorable judges of the Supreme Court and Delhi High Court have taken *suo moto action*, based on media reports highlighting crimes and injustices. In several other instances, all the victim had to do was to send in a post card to the judges of the two courts to bring his or her problem to light and to get justice.

The courts have been unsparing in their criticism of government actions and decisions which they found unjust and have issued many orders, amending the wrongs committed by the government. The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), the top investigating body, also received flak from the courts whenever it slackened its enquiry into crimes committed by political and government big-wigs. For instance, when the former chief of the agency, Mr. Joginder Singh, met former prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao at a time when the latter was under investigation by the CBI for white-collar crimes, of bribery, cheating and forgery, a Supreme Court bench summoned Mr. Singh to the court and ordered him to behave. Mr. Singh had to apologise to the court for his indiscretion. The point to note in this story is that the court took action against the former CBI chief not because anybody petitioned it but on the basis of media reports. In one of the many scams involving political leaders and members of the Bihar State government, the court ordered the CBI to report directly to it instead of submitting its report to the government. A year ago, the Capital of India saw an epidemic of Dengue fever which took many lives. The media blamed the government for it. The administration's neglect of its civic duties, said the reports, had led to the epidemic. A Delhi High Court



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judge was prompt to respond to such press reports and issued an order to the government to explain its criminal neglect of public health. In another case of rape, the court ordered the arrest of the alleged culprit, Vishnu Pandit, a resident of east Delhi, again on the basis of press reports. The reports also accused the police of siding with the culprit rather than the victim, which invited a reprimand from the court.

*On October 31, 1984, when an open massacre of Sikhs started in the streets of Delhi and for four subsequent days during which the killings went on unabated, the honorable judges of the two courts were not in their offices but in the comfort of their homes, perhaps, watching television coverage of the assassination and aftermath. They must have watched the mobs crying for the blood of Sikhs like the rest of India.*

*The four-day long massacre was carried out by blood-thirsty mobs within a radius of 30 kilometers of the two courts' buildings in New Delhi. Several incidents of grotesque violence took place close to the houses of these honorable judges, again in Lutyen's Delhi. The air of Delhi was thick with smoke and stench of burning corpses for four long days and nights. What were the honorable judges doing during this time ? Sitting in their homes like a bunch of impotents ? Not one of them reacted. Not one of them was moved by the dance of death in the streets of Delhi. Not one of them was provoked into ordering the government to stop the carnage of Sikhs.*

Besides, it is very hard to fathom why the two courts remained locked for those four days of unprecedented violence. Judge this against the backdrop of stories about judges of the two courts sometimes having passed midnight orders in important cases. According to an order of the Supreme Court itself, "justice cannot be enslaved to the clock and, whenever necessary, it must be delivered without waiting for the courts to open."

*Presuming that the judges could not move out of their homes in the first few days of that dark November for security reasons, why did they not hold special sittings right in their homes ? And, if the streets were not safe for them, could they not imagine what must be happening to ordinary citizens ? Why did they do nothing to safeguard the lives of Sikhs or to stem the anti-Sikh violence ? Why did they shut themselves in their houses when Sikhs were being brutally killed ? All these questions*

## THE HINDUSTAN TIMES



Members of the All India Sikh Conference on dharna at Gole Methi Chowk in support of their demands in Delhi on Tuesday. — HT photo by Arun Jetlie

### Riot victims begin stir

NEW DELHI, July 24 (HTC)

The 1984 riot victims today began an indefinite hunger-strike at Gole Methi to protest against the Government for not making arrangements for their settlement.

They had planned to sit on hunger-strike at the residence of Lt.-Governor Arjun Singh in Chanakya-pur.

The 1984 riot victims are living in Tilak Vihar where there are no basic facilities. According to the residents of Tilak Vihar they do not get regular water supply and medical facilities.

The protesters included a large number of women and children.

Even after six years, the victims have not been rehabilitated, they said. They are living a miserable life in Tilak Vihar, they said.

PUBLIC MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH  
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*lead to another very significant question. Were the honorable judges acting as agents of the Congress party or were they sleeping like Kumbhkarna and, therefore, unconscious of the violence outside their homes ?*

*Why did it take the honorable judges four long days to report to their offices ? Even after the carnage and the opening of the courts, not one judge reacted. Not one of them sought explanation from the government for its criminal neglect of an entire community. No judge even dared ask the Delhi police as to why it had allowed such savagery against Sikhs. Who is to be blamed ? Where was the police ? Where was the government ? Where was the army ?*

Fourteen long years later, when there is a national debate on the so-called "judicial activism" in India, no judge has said a word of criticism against that massacre. The killers of Sikhs prowl free on the streets of Delhi, not far from the two courts but no judge knows about their existence. On the other hand, some of those alleged to have been involved in the killings, especially, members of the Congress party, have top class security cover provided to them by the government. Is that not an open challenge to the institution of judiciary ? And yet, nobody is outraged at such foul and double standards.

Some newspapers have done a good job of reporting on the victims families' fight for justice. The reports talk of the killers openly intimidating and mocking at the families. But, no judge seems to read these reports. No court has asked why the killers are roaming free and why the Delhi police and the central government have done nothing to nab the killers.

*And, in the middle of this cruel silence on the part of the courts, the intelligentsia in the country is debating the pros and cons of judicial activism. Are the crimes of killing 5,000 Sikhs, rape of their women and looting and the destruction of their property, nothing compared to the white-collar crimes over which the Indian judiciary is so agitated ? The same judges who are so concerned about probity and accountability in public life are quiet on the State-sponsored massacre of Sikhs. They apparently do not recognise the killings as a serious crime.*



## QUAMI AWAZ



DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

## WIDOWS AND OTHER VICTIMS SPEAK IN FIRST PERSON

**Mrs. Ram Kaur** : "In the pre-Emergency (National Emergency declared by the late prime minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1975) period, we used to live in Shivpuri (also known as Chand Nagar). In 1976, we came to set up home in Trilokpuri. The people living in this area were a mix of *purbias* (those from the eastern Indian state of Bihar), Punjabi Hindus, Sikhs, *Bhangis* (the scavengers), Muslims etc. We never had any problems or conflicts and everybody lived in complete harmony. On November 1, 1984 early morning, I saw the air filled with smoke. Like many other people, we went to see what was happening from the terrace of our house. We could hear loud cries. "*Sardaron nen hamari maan Indira Gandhi ko maar diya. ab inko pata chalega* (the Sikhs have killed our mother, Indira Gandhi; now, we will show them what we can do)." We ran down to the safety of our rooms. We could hear stones being pelted, so we shut our door. After a while, when the noise outside became louder, my husband, his younger brother and my three children went and hid in the neighbours' house. Then my husband came and asked me too to join them. Some time later, we learnt that our house had been gutted and looted. Some children came and told my eldest daughter, 'your house has been burnt.' My husband said to my daughter, 'don't worry I will build you a bigger and better house.'

My husband told me about it. I said, 'nothing is dearer to me than your life and that of our children and as long as you are there I am not worried about a house.' He was very upset. We slept where we had sought shelter. My husband cut his hair and asked me, 'I hope I do not look like a Sardar now and nobody will harm me. But, please keep my turban with care.' I agreed with him and told him that since he had cut his hair no harm would come to him. I did not reflect on why he had asked me to keep his turban safe. The next day, we went to the house of a Sikh neighbour where all men

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I-India Sikh Conference (Babbar) activists and 1984 riots victims holding a demonstration outside the Supreme Court on Monday.—HT photo

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had cut their hair and become *mona* (It is a popular expression among Sikhs to describe Hindus).

On the evening of November 2, at about 8 P.M. when our neighbour served us tea, the wife told me that many people had been to her house to scout for Sikhs and she did not want any trouble and wanted us to move elsewhere. Meanwhile, my husband went to the terrace and tried to get into the house. The wall was too high for him to jump. He just sat next to the wall. Salim spotted him and started shouting, here is a Sardar who has cut his hair and is hiding behind the wall. ' Salim dragged him and brought him to the terrace of the neighbour's house. My husband implored him with folded hands not to give him away. But Salim was merciless, he pushed him and my husband fell on a heap of concrete and stones below. The killer mob was waiting there, armed with knives, iron rods, swords and kerosene oil tins. Salim also joined the crowd.

Just then, I heard the front neighbour's women yell, " *behenji* (sister) they are killing your husband.' I ran out only to stand in a corner and watch my husband burn alive. Even then he had his hands folded. The goons hit him with iron rods and then burnt him alive after pouring kerosene oil over him. Among the killers was Salim and some other men who went on hammering my husband. The people I recognised among them were Salim (30/499), Omi, Vedi, Doctor V.P. Singh (Block 31) and Lambu Doctor (Block 32). Both of whom have their clinics outside the Gurudwara, Ramsharan (30/426) and Mulla (30/493), his son and son-in-law. Besides, I saw Radhe (Block 19 Juggi), Ramkishan (19/452) who has a government job, Kishanlal and his sons, Rajkumar, Bharat and Trilokpuri (19/49), Gwalan (19/447) and *Moti Pandtani's* Son, Mahendra (19/445). Lalit Gupta himself gave kerosene oil to have Sikhs burnt alive.

Meanwhile, the crowd was becoming larger and larger. The killers were shouting with joy and excitement after killing Sikhs. Ramsharan was among those who were dancing. People were shouting, 'where are the prey ? Where are the fresh, fat rats? Come out and we will show you.'

## INDIAN EXPRESS



PUBLIC MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

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Police came to peep into our houses and if any one of us complained about the killer mobs waiting to get us, the police said, 'don't worry, nobody will touch you'. But the same cops would go to the waiting crowds and tell them about our hideouts. There was no end to stoning and yelling. The crowds repeatedly shouted, 'we will rape your daughters and wives'. If some hapless girls beseeched them, '*bhaia* (brother) don't harm us', the killers would say, 'don't call us brothers, we are your men and will take you away in the night.'

I had already sent my brother (after cutting his hair) alongwith the homeguards. On the evening of November 2, when the army came, all of us women fell on their feet and told them how our sons and husbands had been killed and burnt alive. 'Please save the honour of our daughters,' we begged them. The army people gave us an assurance, 'don't worry, now that we have come, we will take you in trucks to police stations.' We grabbed our young children and ran like mad towards the trucks. We spent the night in the Kalyanpuri Police Station.

***Mrs. Bhagwati Kaur*** : On November 1 at 8 p.m. about 500 people gathered outside our block . The people had sticks, iron rods and knives on them. Shortly thereafter there was a sudden attack on our house. My husband was not at home. My son-in-law, my nephew (sister's son) and my own two sons were at home. Some people broke into our house after smashing the front door. They felled my elder son with an iron rod right next to the door. Then they poured kerosene on him and burnt him alive. Another man got my nephew with a sword and burnt him outside, close to the park. My son in law escaped into a nieghbour's house. Draupdi's sister, Tallo saw him run and told the mob. The mod chased him to the neighbour's house and dragged him and battered him with iron rods. He still did not die. Then they electrocuted him to death. Block 32 had its electric cables cut and these were used to kill some Sikhs.

The younger son, who had only been married for three months, was hiding behind me. Some people in the crowd dragged us women out. When I was being dragged out, my son was trying to hold on to me, pulling me back to him. He knew that he would be killed as soon as I am out of sight. In the pushing and jostling, my left arm

SMT. MENEKA GANDHI JOINED THE PUBLIC MEETING REGARDING



ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

broke. Then , somebody yelled, let us take this boy to Jagga's house. (Jagga is a known goonda of Trilokpuri). They dragged him to his house and killed him there.

My husband had a grocery shop on the main road . He was there when the mob went to shop. The goons burnt the shop and him. This, I was told by my neighbours. My house too had been looted and burnt. I do not know who saved me and how because I fell unconscious.

There were about four to five hundred people who attacked us. It was not possible to recognise so many people but after having lived in block 32 of Trilokpuri for eight years, I certainly recognised some of my neighbours in the crowd. Those who killed Sikhs brutally, are Tallo, smuggler Manu, Jagga and his wife Draupdi, Kishori Zamindar (pig meat-seller) Ramlal Saroj (Indira Congress leader and goon), Rooplal and his three sons, who were known thieves. Later on, in the relief camp a reliable person told me that my radio, tape recorder and other valuables were in the house of Jagga and Draupdi.

Rampal Saroj had come to our street around 4 p.m. and assured us that nothing would happen to the Sikhs. He told us there was nothing to fear. Not just that, in his capacity as a local leader, he told us Sikhs not to move out of our houses. That is the only way to escape the violence and the killings, he said. I could not believe that he could be such a traitor. Rampal Saroj turned out to be the leader of the killers and, in retrospect, I think, it was a very cunning move on his part to tell us not to move out of our homes. He did not want any Sikh to move to safety. Within five hours he brought goons with him and pointed out our houses to them. Hundreds of Sikhs were brutally killed under his supervision. The next day the army came and took us to a police station before moving us to a relief camp.

**Mrs. Gurdip Kaur :** My husband was in the army. He and my son were killed. On November 1, my house was burnt and looted and some people told my husband and son to either cut their or run away. Among those who said this were the Block 16 Jamandaar and the Block 18 *bania* who worked in the ration shop. Then, they took



Indian Government-Organised Carnage



HUNDREDS OF WIDOWS APROCHED SHRI AKAL TAKHT SAHIB  
SHRI AMRITSAR FOR HELP

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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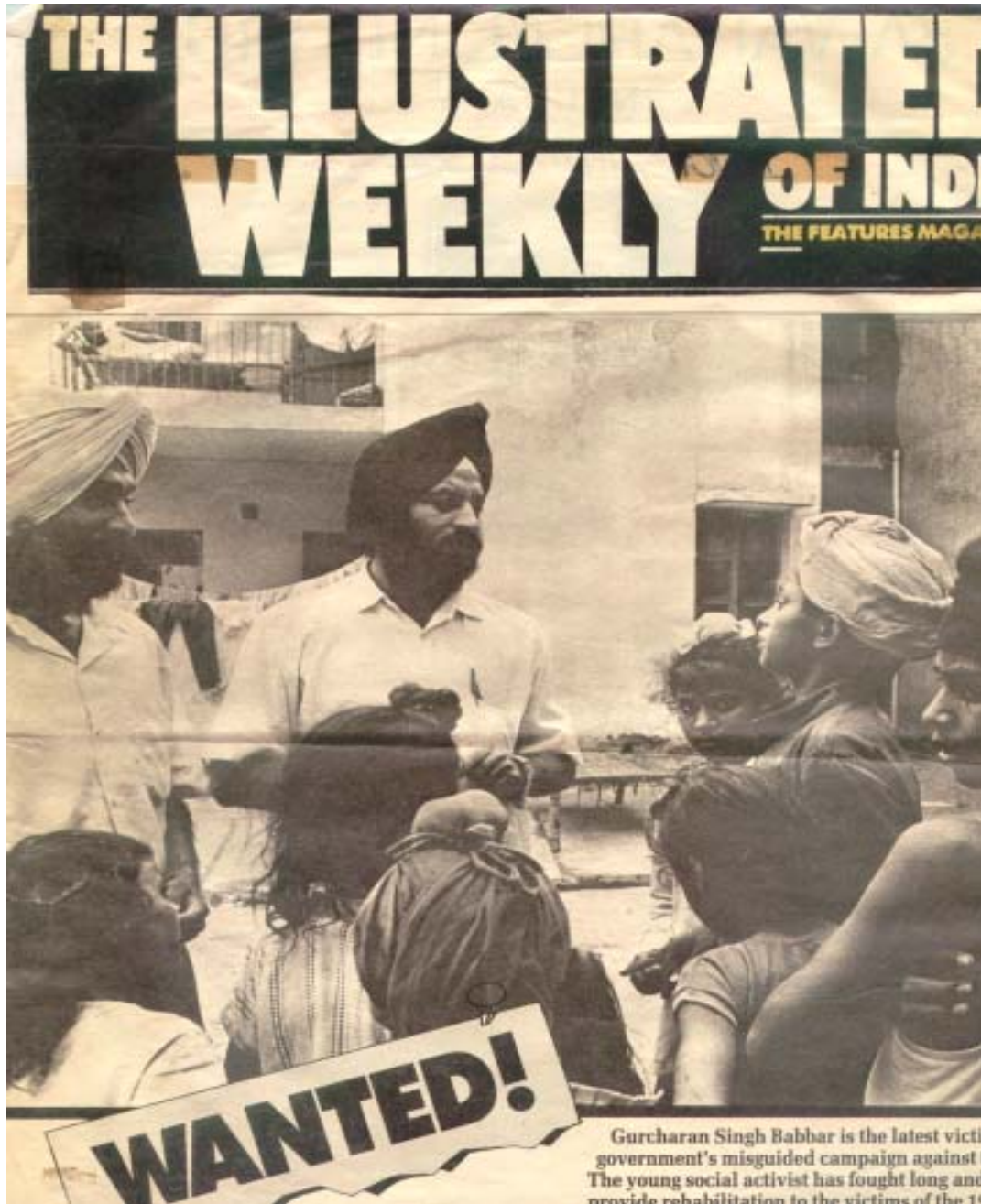
my husband and locked him up in the *dhobi's* house. On the night of November 1, some people came and announced that a Sardar was hiding in the *dhobi's* house and broke parts of it. They made a big hole in the wall and fired four bullets. My children were told by their friends, 'your father has been shot dead by Farash Singh of Block 18.' They also said that Farash Singh was accompanied by Soleh Singh of Block 18, who was armed with a sword. Farash Singh had always been after my husband's life. Earlier, he had a beard and long hair but now we hear that he is clean shaven.

After killing my husband, the killers came to the front of our house. A tailor from our street told the mob that my son was hiding in our burnt house. The mob came inside and the tea shop *Pandit* told the mob to drag my son out. I was also inside. I fell on the feet of the killers and told them to please spare my children, The goons from block 16 and murderer *jamandaar* (whose names are on the list of offenders in the police station ) were all there. They dragged my son out and a little distance away, they showered sticks on him. He fell down and then one of the *jamaandaars* from Block 16 slashed my son with a sword and killed him. My neighbours later told me that they took my son close to the drain where my husband's body was lying and both were burnt. They came back to my house and spread a *puual* (cloth canopy) over the terrace and were about to torch it when the tea shop *pandit* came and began to strangle my daughter. Some people standing there told him to spare the rest of us. Then the mob went away. Prem (police *mukhbir*) also got Sikhs killed.

Just then two cops came on a motorbike to Block 18. The rioting mob was told by the cops, ' you have two days to kill Sikhs or whatever, you can do it in these two days.' Police had a direct and deliberate role in getting our men killed. We had recently built our house and some people were jealous of this too and some in Block 18 even expressed their resentment to us. But because my husband was in the army (for 18 years he was a Nayak driver), he was allowed to build a house in the area. He fought on India's borders during three wars and also won a medal in the 1971-72 war (Indo-Pak).

**Mr. Inder Singh :** We came to Trilokpuri in 1976, after the Emergency. The colony had a mix of people—Sikhs, Hindus and Muslim but we had a good rapport. I

Indian Government-Organised Carnage



AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK AND GENERAL SECRETARY OF ALL INDIA SIKH  
CONFERENCE (BABBAR)  
SARDAR GURCHARAN SINGH BABBAR WAS DECLERE TERRORIST (WANTED PERSON)  
BY DELHI POLICE IN 1987 THROUGH CORRUPT PRACTICE.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

left for work on the morning of November 1 as usual. I had just finished weaving one cot and had started a second when someone came and told me that a Gurudwara had been burnt in Block 36. I ran back to my house from Block 27 where I was sitting and working. Then I saw the people who had burnt the Gurudwara heading towards the houses in Block 36. It must have been about 10 a.m. When they started pelting stones at us. We returned the attack. We did the right thing when we told them that we would not allow the Gurudwara in our block (No 32) to be burnt. Some people said that they would support us but we were about 200 of us. The cops came. They told us, 'don't quarrel, go to your homes'. So we all went home. Then the mob came and started burning our houses and attacking people. The electric cables to our block were cut and people were killed through electrocution or torched alive. They took away women and young girls and raped them. They also burnt the Gurudwara.

At 12 in the night women folk from several Sikh families in the area took shelter in our house. About 200 people attacked our house. Children started howling. I was the only man in the house. Sher Khan (A cement-trader who lives in my street) pointed to my house and told the crowd, 'there are two hounds in the house and lots of good items, good looking women, take them away'. After this, Sher Khan and others started looting the house. They also torched parts of the house. The door fell as it burnt. Then the mob stormed into the house and started beating us with sticks. I hid under the bed. Sher Khan had a knife in his hand. He lifted the cot and bared me to the crowd. People attacked me with sticks. Sher Khan threatened my wife on knife point and asked her the whereabouts of my son. He was heading with the knife towards me but my wife pushed him. I fell unconscious and later on my two children told me that our neighbour, who has a flour-grinding shop in Block 27, shouted when he saw me unconscious, 'you sinners! why did you kill this old man?' Then they moved away from me but after a while when I regained consciousness I saw that Rampal Saroj and Kishori were personally supervising that Sikhs are hacked and torched alive. Jain sahib of Block 32, house no 318, who has a kerosene depot

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage

DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



MR. GURCHARAN SINGH BABBAR SET ON INDEFINATE HUNGER STRIKE AT BOAT CLUB, DELHI



sent four to five big drums of kerosene for the purpose of killing. On the night of November 2, at about 4 a.m. we started out to Chilla village nearby, along with our women. When we reached the village we saw the Gujjars of the village armed with sticks waiting for us. 'Don't dare come this way, run to the jungle or we will burn you alive.' We were thirsty but there was no water. We went to a temple outside the village and squatted there. Hundreds of people again gathered around us. We all hid in the bushes. All of November 2, we stayed in the bushes. The mob returned at night but one of our men from block 32 came to us in a military truck and we were all transported to Kalyanpuri police station.

**Mr. Sant Singh :** On October 31, at around 2:30 p.m. I parked my three wheeler near kasturba Nagar local bus stand. I asked for tea from a stall there. I had just taken a couple of sips when I saw a friend of mine, a fellow auto-rickshaw driver, Navin, about to take a passenger. I offered him tea. He smiled, told the passenger he was not going. and said to me, 'you enjoy yourself, I'll just come'. He told me not to stay put. I wondered why he did or said that. In the meantime, he returned and asked me to accompany him to his house. 'Whatever you are going to give me to eat there you can give me here', I joked with him. 'Buddy, you won't come like this,' and pushed my vehicle which turned to the side and I fell out. I still thought he was joking. Then I went home with him. As we sat in his house, I asked him why he had come back from work so early. He said that on Grand Trunk (GT) road, Vishnu Halwai was forcing all shopkeepers to down their shutters. I asked him the reason. He was surprised that I did not know and told me about a Sikh having shot Indira Gandhi. It was news to me, I could not even believe it. Then I said, 'even though it does not seem true, I hope she survives.'

'Buddy cut your hair and remove your turban because Sikhs are going to be killed.' my friend said. I refused to believe that this could happen and got up to go out. He repeated what he had said to me. 'If you want to see your children again do as I tell you', he said. I said, I needed time to think but he signalled to his mother to get a blade. The door was partially open. Gopi Mahto the auto-rickshaw driver, was passing that



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**Organised by Indian Govt.**

way, shouting, 'Sikh shops are being looted and burnt in the market. Just now I saw Tarlochan Singh (The sweet mart-owner) was throwing sweets outside and people were picking up and eating.' Then my friend's mother came and asked my friend to cut my hair and beard. The friend's mother is dumb and started crying. The friend asked me to stay indoors still and warned me that I would be killed if somebody recognised me. I said, 'I have lost my hair, what do I care if I lose my life now?' and I walked out of his house.

I walked via new Vishwas Nagar to the a red light close to the bus stand. It must have been about 4:30 p.m. and I saw bus no 312. I boarded the bus and asked for a ticket upto Lakshminagar. I wondered as I sat in the bus as to what was happening. Crowds, armed with sticks and iron rods, were running on the roads. It was for the first time in my life that I was seeing such a commotion with my own eyes. From Lakshmi Nagar I took an autorickshaw to Trilokpuri. I saw Salim and 25-30 others running towards block 32. They were telling me to come. So, I also started running after them. Among the crowd three to four people had kerosene- filled tins with them. Many had sticks and rods. When we reached the houses near Block 32 and 33, they poured out kerosene oil onto the local Gurudwara compound and doors and threw burning match-sticks. The Gurudwara is right in the middle of the residential colonies and his nephews, Inder Singh and Lalloo Singh, were pouring buckets of water to douse the fire. Just then, I saw Salim grab Bhai Chatter Singh's sword and Budhram Bhuggi also joined him. They were armed with sticks and rods. Rampal Saroj shouted, 'you ass what are you doing? Kill the bloody Sikhs.' Houses were afire, women and children were running from their houses. Rampal Saroj said, 'you have burnt the house, now proceed to the Gurudwara'. People were shouting slogans, '*Indira Gandhi amar rahe*'. They did as they were ordered. Three young men, Bhajan Singh, Attar Singh and Arjun Sigh were stationed outside the main gate of the Gurudwara to guard it against mob attack. Rampal Saroj again gave orders, 'pour kerosene.' About five to seven people then poured oil on the three Sikhs and torched them alive. When some Sikhs from inside the Gurudwara tried to escape, they were thrashed with sticks and rods and hacked with knives and swords. I could not bear to see any more and ran towards Shahadra and spent the



## AJIT (PUNJABI)

# ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਮੁਕੱਦਮਾ ਦਾਇਰ

ਨਵੀਂ ਦਿੱਲੀ, 7 ਅਗਸਤ-(ਚ. ਦ.)

ਜਹਿੰਗੀ ਹਵਾਬਾਜ਼ੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੇਂਦਰੀ ਰਾਜ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸ਼ ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਜਸਟਿਸ ਐਮ ਐਲ ਜੈਨ ਅਤੇ ਜਸਟਿਸ ਏ ਕੇ ਬੇਨਰਜੀ ਕੋਲ 16 ਹਲਫਨਾਮੇ ਦਾਇਰ ਕਰਕੇ ਮੁਕੱਦਮਾ ਦਾਇਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਆਲ ਇੰਡੀਆ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਦਾਇਰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹਲਫਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਦੋਸ਼ ਲਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਗਦੀਸ਼ ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਨੇ 1984 ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਦੰਗਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਦੰਗਾਕਾਰੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਕਸਾਇਆ। ਜੱਥਾ ਦੀ ਸਮਿਤੀ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਜਾਂਚ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੇ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਹਲਫਨਾਮੇ 31 ਜੁਲਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਦਾਇਰ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਸਨ। ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਦੇ ਸਮਰਥਕ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹਲਫਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ 'ਝੂਠਾ' ਦੱਸ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਇਕ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੇ ਪੱਤਰ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਕ ਰਾਹੁਲ ਬੇਦੀ ਨੇ ਵੀ ਹਲਫਨਾਮਾ ਦਾਇਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ। ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਬੇਦੀ ਨੇ ਦੋਸ਼ ਲਾਇਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਫੁਡਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਪੁਲਸ ਦੇ ਮੁਖ ਦਫਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਆਏ ਸਨ। ਇਕ ਹਲਫਨਾਮਾ



**ਜਗਦੀਸ਼ ਟਾਈਟਲਰ**  
ਕਿੰਗਜਵੇ ਕੋਪ ਦੇ ਜਸਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਦਾਇਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ।

ਜਸਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਅਖੀਰੀ ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਨੂੰ, ਦੰਗਾਕਾਰੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਕਸਾਉਂਦਿਆਂ ਦੱਖਿਆ ਸੀ। ਉਹ ਉਥੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਚ ਨਿਕਲਿਆ ਤੇ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਵਾ ਕੇ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਾ ਪੰਥਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਸਕੱਤਰ ਹੋਂਡ ਮਾਸਟਰ ਲੁੱਛਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋਲ ਰਹਿਣਾ ਪਿਆ। ਵਰਨਣਯੋਗ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਲ ਇੰਡੀਆ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ 24 ਜੁਲਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਸਦੀ ਮਾਮਲਿਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਐਚ ਕੇ ਐਲ ਭਗਤ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਵੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿਧਵਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਲਫਨਾਮੇ ਦਾਇਰ ਕਰਵਾਏ ਸਨ। ਸਿੱਖ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ ਦੇ ਸਕੱਤਰ ਸ: ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਬੱਬਰ ਨੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਇਸ ਜਾਂਚ ਦੇ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਇਕ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਹੀ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਨਾ ਆਏ ਤਾਂ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ 20 ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਲੈ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਥੇ ਹੀ ਵਸਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਸਕੇ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਿਹਾ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਇੰਡੀਆ ਗੇਟ ਤੋਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤਕ ਪੈਦਲ ਹੀ ਜਾਣਗੇ।

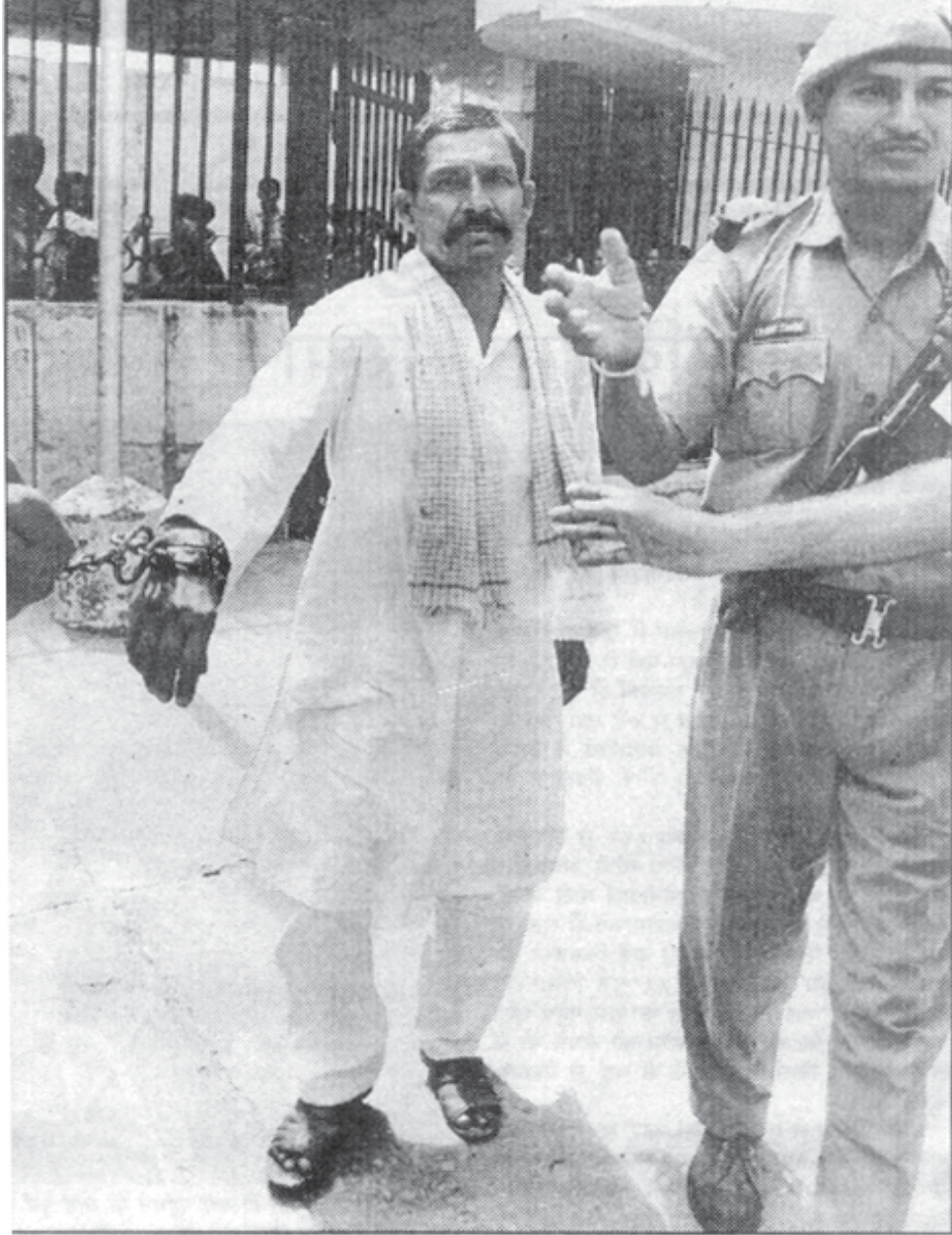
FORMER UNION MINISTER OF INDIA DECLEARED MAIN CULPRIT  
OF NOV. 84 CARNAGE BY NANAWATI COMMISSION.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

night in a tea shop owner's house in Jawalanagar. The next morning I borrowed Hariram's (*pakorewala*) bicycle and went to Sultanpuri where my four nephews (sister's sons) live. There I was told that all of them had been killed and the parents had sought shelter in a village. Then I went to inquire about my brother-in-law who too lived in Sultanpuri. There, a *gurkha* woman neighbour of his told me that he had been killed by Jaikishan and his men. I was shocked out of my wits and went about the streets like a mad man until the evening. Then I went to Mongolpuri to see my brother's son-in-law. A crowd was standing in the street. I asked a man whether he knew what happened to Giani Singh. He wanted to know who I was. Meanwhile, Lala's wife from the house opposite Giani Singh came and identified me. She told me that a woman had locked the house from inside and was refusing to open and asked me to yell for her. She opened the door when she heard me.

**Mrs. Jasbir Kaur :** On October 31, there was no incident of violence except a lot of commotion. On the morning of November 1, at about 11:30 a.m. When my brother and I were having breakfast we heard a big noise. A big crowd was coming towards our house. I locked my brother in a room and told the crowd gathered outside my house that there was no man inside. They came from the back door, broke it open, looted the house and dragged my brother out before torching the house. The mob included Shamlal and his sons, Santosh and Nilu. Shamlal had a knife in his hands and his sons were armed with rods. They were giving instructions to each other to eliminate every single Sikh in the street when I saw Radhesham, a police informer, directing people to burn the houses. I begged the *goondas* to take away everything I had but spare my brother. They snatched my ear rings, gold bangles and chain. I got hurt while trying to save my brother. They thrashed me and told me, 'we will loot and kill you, it is Sajjan Kumar's order and we have got 500 rupees each as fees to do the job'. They left after killing my brother. Shamlal stabbed him and the others hit him with rods.

On November 2, at 11 a.m. again they came and said that as per their list there should be two more men in my house. I told them that my husband was away to Madras on duty and my son (who is a factory worker) is not at home. Then they burnt



दिल्ली में १९८४ के दंगों में मौत की सजा पाने वाला किशोरी लाल। सोमवार को उसे कड़कड़ुमा  
अदालत में पेश किया गया। (फोटो: जनसत्ता, रेणुका पुरी)

जनसत्ता

MR. KISHORI LAL IS FAMOUS KILLER OF NOV. 84 CARNAGE

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

the house saying if they are there the fire will take care of them. They told me to throw out my brother's corpse but I did not let them touch it. I cremated him with wood from the broken and burnt doors of my house right there.

That day and night I was all alone. At night too, some people came looking for my husband and son.

On the night of November 3, an army vehicle came and took us to the Sadar Bazaar Gurudwara. Three or four men of the army had to lift me away from my house because I was badly injured.

**Mrs. Kulwant Kaur :** On October 31, nothing happened in our street. On the morning of November 1, a boy told me that a riotous mob had attacked some houses in Sagarpur. I told him that we had no such problem in our area and that all was quiet. After a while, when I went to the terrace of my house, I saw smoke billowing from a Sikh army Brigadier's shop which had been set on fire. There was a big commotion. Some of us went to the police station to report the violence but the police told us that their men were not available for us. The same boy who had told me about the violence in Sagarpur came and said that Sikhs were being killed and their houses were being burnt. We locked ourselves inside. Meanwhile, our neighbours started attacking Sikh house. We were watching the violence from our windows. We had some Hindu children standing on our terrace. Seeing them, the crowd must have thought that no Sikhs live in our house and spared our house. We went and hid in our neighbour's house that night and did not sleep at all. Mobs kept coming and burning the houses of Sikhs in the street. On the morning of November 2, The mob broke into our house and looted it At about 1 p.m. a neighbour came and told us that whatever had to happen had happened and advised us to go back to our homes. Besides, he said, nothing would happen to women. The day passed, during which our neighbours sent us food. At night, my elder son also returned home and I asked him why he had come. He said that he had been given a message. I asked my neighbours to give him shelter but they said that they were scared for their own safety because their house had already been raided. So, I hid him in the kitchen. At 11 p.m. the mob came and asked us who all were inside the house.



HUNDREDS OF RIOT WIDOWS MET FORMER UNION MINISTER OF INDIA SHRI SAHIB  
SINGH VERMA FOR JUSTICE



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

We said, there were no men. The mob got on to the terrace and started searching the house for any tell-tale signs. Then somebody spotted a glass of tea in the lobby which my son had taken. They said there had to be somebody. Meanwhile, the son panicked and started running towards the neighbour's house but the mob saw him and chased him. When they caught up with him, he said, he should be spared because he was a Hindu, not a Sikh. The mob then confronted me and asked me to tell them honestly if he was my son. 'We will not harm him if you tell us he is your son'. So I told them that he was fear-stricken and lying and that indeed he was my son. 'We will not kill him but hand him over to the police. Had we wanted to kill him, we would have done it in front of you, they said. And they took him away. Some of my neighbours accompanied the mob up to a distance but could not get him freed. Later, some people told me that he was killed in the street. Among those who took my son away were, Munna (who has a T.V. Shop and whose father is known as *nawab*) and Puppi (Shanti Bahmni's son who lives in street 21-22). Next day, some 30 to 40 people came to our street and ordered all Sikh men to come out.

I invited the mob to search my house. John Bambaiwalla was wearing my son's clothes. He is the one who told the mob about my son being in the house and he also participated in the looting. On the evening of November 3, the army came and took us to a relief camp in the Gurudwara of Sadar Bazaar Delhi Cantonment.

**Mr. Kewal Singh** : I took off for Mumbai from Ludhiana on Frontier Mail on November 1. There were thousands of passengers in the train when some *goondas* attacked the train. We were in a reserved bogie. The mob separated our bogie from the rest of the train and threatened to burn it if we refused to open the doors. There were many Sikhs in our bogie but also some Hindus. They said the Hindus should get off. My friends and I did not have turbans over our heads. In fear, we started alighting. They stripped the Sardars naked and stabbed them in their private parts and disfigured their faces before throwing them away. Some dead bodies were left right in the door of the train with a poster, 'here is a gift from punjab.'

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)  
OUTSIDE THE PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

As the train was approaching the station, the Hindus started instigating the mob. We saw a couple of other trains arrive in which we saw heaps of dead bodies. We were scared and went to the waiting room of the station and from there to the Sadar Cant. Gurudwara.

That night (on November 2), the mob came and tried to burn down the Gurudwara. Some shops around were gutted. During the following days, we saw many Sikh men, their shops and houses burning in the areas surrounding the Gurudwara, such as, Palam Colony, Sagarpur, Sadhannagar, Kailash puri, Uttam nagar and Rajnagar.

I was passing by the road and heard an old woman wailing. She was yelling away, 'I have lost everything, what will I do now, where will I go?' I went close and held her hand trying to console her. She broke into loud cries and told me her story. She was preparing breakfast for her husband, about to leave for work, when she heard a big commotion outside. She wanted to know what was happening but then thought that it would delay her husband to work. She had not even finished making tea when a neighbour came running and asked them all to hide somewhere before Sajjan Kumar's men came. She asked what their crime was for which they were going to be killed. Meanwhile, her husband and children also came to the verandah of the house and wondered why such a huge crowd was approaching their house. The mob was crying, '*Sajjan Kumar zindabad, Indira Gandhi amar rahe, gaddaron ko bahar nikalo. khoon ka badla khoon.*' Then they took her four sons and husband out and killed them with sticks and rods. They stripped her and her two daughters and raped them by turns. The mob was inviting more and more men to come and rape them. Her younger daughter lost her senses, she could not bear the experience. The old woman pulled her hair and asked me where she should go. I tried to console her and told her that she had to live for her two daughters. I also told her that whoever had committed the heinous crimes would be punished but, my words rang hollow even to me. What justice and what punishment can there be for such crimes! I thought to myself.



## THE HINDU



THE HINDU, Saturday, August 13, 1988.

### Demonstration by widows of 1984 riots

From Our Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, Aug 12.

Widows of the November 1984 anti-Sikh carnage today staged a march from the Amar Jawan Jyoti to Boat Club to register their protest against the "denial of justice for four long years." The demonstration was organised by the All-India Sikh Conference.

In a memorandum addressed to Members of Parliament, the AISC alleged that "no serious investigation has been held or prosecution launched against those involved in causing the death of over 5,000 people."

It went on to say that "the Administration is denying us justice in the murder cases and colluding with assassins, killers and criminals in supporting them in seeking ex-parte adjournments with the result that prosecution in a vast majority of cases is held up."

According to the memorandum, "the Administration had done nothing to get the stay obtained from the Delhi High Court by vested interests against the expert Jain-Banerji Committee to monitor November 1984 cases vacated."

The AISC said that the stay, which has been in operation for about nine months, was given in spite of the standing directive of the Sup-

reme Court in an earlier case that: "The police have the statutory right to investigate into the circumstances of any alleged cognizable offence without authority from a Magistrate and the statutory power of the police to investigate cannot be interfered with the exercise of power under Section 439 or under the inherent power of the court under Section 561-A of the Criminal Procedure Code."

According to the AISC memorandum, they were "not casting any aspersion on the High Court Judges for the stay but it is for the judiciary to dispel the oft-repeated charge of growing subservience to serve the vested interests of the powers-that-be by acting with great care and restraint in the sensitive cases of the nature of November '84 killings."

The lapse of the Administration, according to the AISC, "is that it has not preferred an appeal to get the order rescinded" (The stay was granted against the power of the Jain-Banerji panel to order registration of fresh cases against those involved in the riots following a petition filed by Brahmanand Gupta before the Delhi High Court).

Another demand made by the widows was an increase in their pension from the present Rs. 400 a month to Rs. 1,000.

MR. BABBAR ADDRESS THE WIDOWS OF NOV. 1984 CARNAGE OUT SIDE THE PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

**Mr. Jit Singh** : I left home for Faridabad on the morning of November 1. As I walked upto the Patel nagar bus stand, I felt people staring at me in an unusual manner. In the bus too, I met with strange stares but ignored it again. The bus reached ISBT from where I took a bus for Faridabad. There was a very eerie silence in the bus. I wondered why. The person I had gone to meet was shocked to see me there and asked how I had reached. He censured me for having come at all. Until then, I did not why he was making such a fuss about me being there. 'But everybody else is moving freely why shouldn't I' ? I asked him. He argued that I should not go back home but I told him that everybody in my family—my wife, two sons and daughters each, would panic if I did not go home. At the Faridabad station I saw a train that was headed for Delhi. I tried but could not get into the train and hung on to the door of a bogie which had about 90 soldiers, mostly Sikhs in civilian dress. One of them let me in. When we reached Tughlakabad station, we saw a crowd of thousands, armed with sticks, rods, petrol, kerosene oil, knives, and other weapons. '*Indira Gandhi amar rahe, Indira Gandhi Zindabad, Sikhs murdabad,*' they were shouting. Many Sikhs were pulled out and beaten to death or burnt alive. The train started again. I was hiding in the toilet and watching it all from inside. The train moved and I thanked God. Meanwhile, another Sikh, an army Captain also joined me in the toilet. We both knew we were face to face with death.

I was trembling all over and was worried about my children. I wondered why they were killing the Sikhs, what we had done. When the train stopped again we watched people scouting for Sikhs in every compartment. Then, somebody yelled that they should also look in the toilets (for Sikhs). We tried to resist but the mob broke open the door and pulled us out. It killed the captain with iron rods. I heard him beseech the crowd not to kill him because he was going home on vacation after a year of serving on the border. But nobody heard his pleas. After him, it was my turn. I gave them everything—my money, watch and turban but they started raining sticks on me. Somebody pushed me into a dirty drain. I was completely soaked in the dirty water, then they poured kerosene over me but, because I was wet, I did not catch fire. Meanwhile, another



DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR) OUTSIDE  
NARSHIMHA RAO RESIDENCE

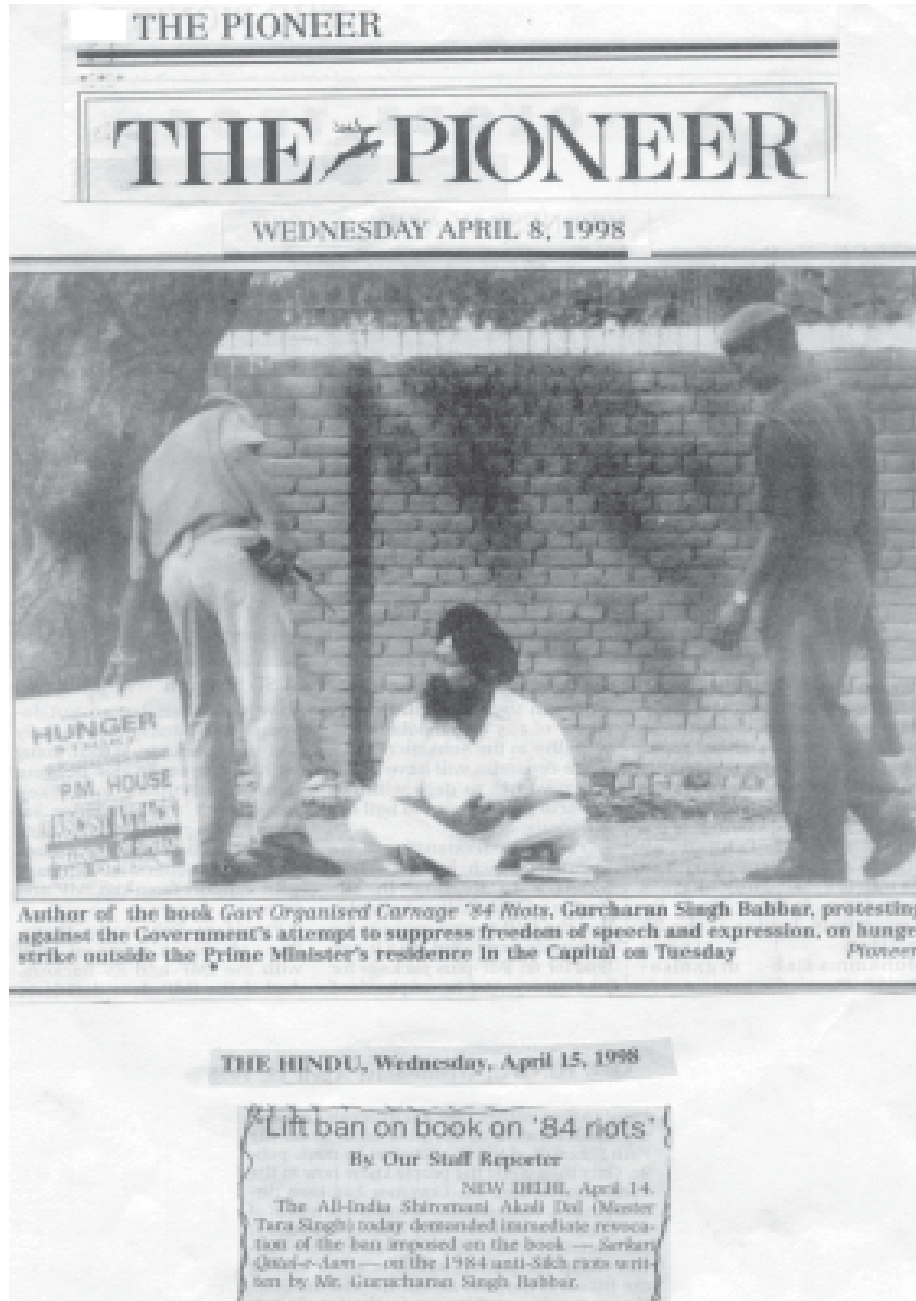
train came and they ran towards that for more prey.

I kept lying in the dirty drain for some time and when it became dark, I gathered courage and crawled to a standing train. There was no turban over my head, nor clothes except my trousers. I was badly injured and was bleeding from the head but, somehow, I got into the train and sat in a corner like a rat.

I was crying in pain. I was so thirsty that I thought if I did not get water I would die. A woman with her two young children had a water bottle. I begged her to give me some water. First she did not answer me, then she stared at me and, the third time, she told me to 'ask Gurunanak for water'. I got so scared by her reply that I forgot I was thirsty.

The train reached New Delhi railway station. A police inspector, who, I later learnt, was from a Sikh family got me picked up and taken to Lady Irwin hospital. I passed out when I reached the hospital and the hospital authorities, thinking me dead, sent me to the morgue. I regained consciousness in the dead of the night and found myself lying among a heap of corpses but I was too scared to move. After a while, an employee came to the morgue and I begged him to help me. He was kind enough to get me out and phone my neighbours, who came to hospital. It took them some time to recognise me. I was cold and naked. My neighbours hid me under the seat of their car and took me home. It took me six months of trauma—physical and mental, to be able to even step out of my house.

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



# A SPECIAL STUDY OF THE MASSACRE

## *SULTANPURI*

The Sultanpuri colony had a mix of Hindus and Sikhs living there. A large number of Hindus were from the so-called lower castes and were employed as scavengers in different places. Sikhs included masons, iron-smiths, weavers, auto-rickshaw drivers, TV technicians, electricians and shopkeepers. Some Sikhs were also rickshaw-pullers, hawkers and labourers.

It is important to note that before 1984, people of this colony were living in perfect peace and harmony. Many sikhs living here have vouched that they never had any communal trouble.

The mob attack on the Sikhs on November 1, 1984, therefore, surprised all of them. Eye-witness reports bear out that the mob included some local people and members of the backward Jat community living in the neighbouring areas. For instance, some of them came from Mundka village.

Sikh men were the first target of the mob. While hundreds of them were killed in the first go, some survived, either because they were given up as dead by the killers or because they managed to hide from the mob. The survivors have identified some of the killers as being local political leaders of the Congress party, policemen and some local residents as well.

In the process of identification of some of the killers, one thing that emerges quite clearly is that hardly any of the local killers, who included scavengers, mechanics, hawkers and other menial workers, initiated the attack. A majority of the killer mobs



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR) AT TILAK VIHAR  
WIDOWS COLONY DELHI

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

worked on a gameplan and under instructions, given openly, by local political workers and leaders who, inflamed passions against Sikhs and helped the killer mobs identify their shops, houses and other establishments. Repeated references have been made by the families of the victims to Mssrs Chauhan, Bagri and Gupta as those who egged on the mobs. A former member of parliament, who has been identified by survivors, is Congress party's Sajjan Kumar.

A clear pointer to the involvement of police personnel in the Sikh carnage is evidence given by the survivors in which they have named cops like Bhatti, who was not only involved in openly killing Sikhs but also helped the mob snatch away whatever small weapons of defence the victims could have used. One of the witnesses has said on record that " the police took part in the killings, both directly and indirectly".

The survivors I talked to all gave similar accounts of who played what role in the carnage. For instance, kerosene oil, which was used on a large-scale to burn numerous victims alive, was personally distributed by Mssrs Brahmanand Gupta, Bera Nand, Master and Ved Prakash besides Doctor Changa. Others who played a direct role in the killings, include, Hanuman Rashawala Gujrand Gulab Singh, a godwn-owner and a three-wheeler driver Omi. All these goons led the attack.

The attack on Sikh houses and shops started on the night of November 1 and continued unabated until the next evening. The mob was being directed to kill Sikh men and rape Sikh women. The mob was armed with sticks, iron rods and kerosene oil. Many Hindu neighbours tried to hide the Sikhs in their houses but, in spite of it, not many sikhs were lucky to escape the subsequent violence. Sikh houses were identified and the mob returned repeatedly to their houses until it succeeded in getting its prey. Whatever could be looted was taken away and the immovable property of the victims was systematically destroyed, mostly gutted.

The killings were savage. One Sardar was pushed into a vehicle and set afire alongwith the vehicle. Women were not spared either. The mob knived to death a



*Gurcharan Singh Babbar talking to a widow at her Home*

pregnant woman and scores of others were gang-raped.

The Ranibagh Shakarpur relief camp had mostly women and young girls. And boys, if at all they were there, were under the age of ten. One of the families from Sultanpuri had 18 members, including, middle aged and young women besides children. All the four men of the family were killed in what was certainly not an isolated case. There is no earning hand in the family now. One of the women had delivered a baby a day before tragedy struck her husband and the rest of the family's men.

Soon after the killings, most of the women in the camp were too dazed to speak. It took them days and weeks before they could even bring themselves to shed tears. An elderly woman was heard wailing, imploring the relief workers to "poison us all." "Why should we live? What for?" was her refrain. Each of these women had seen grotesque violence directed against her father, brother and husband and none of them was ready to go back to houses where they lost their most precious relatives. Fourteen years later, they are all still away from their former residences, mostly owned. With the killers, many of whom were from their own colonies still roaming free, is it any wonder that these women cannot even imagine going back? That is besides the avalanche of memories that they fear will come back to haunt them. In Sultanpuri, the worst affected blocks were A-4 (65 men were killed and 15 missing), P-1,2 and 3 (31 dead and five missing) and C-3 and 4. Among the 2,000 people who came to the relief camp from this area, 157 were killed, 25 badly injured and 52 missing. This amounts to saying that one out of every two families lost its members to the violence. According to one observer, the number of those injured is surprisingly low in comparison to that of the killed. The violence did not end until the morning of November 4. According to one report, the SHO Sultanpuri, even summoned the survivors (men) to the police station and asked them to cut their hair and remove their turbans in front of him. At the end of the exercise each Sikh had to pay him 21 rupees (currency in odd numbers is given on



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

auspicious occasions in India). The man hired to cut the Sikhs' hair made 500 rupees in one day, the report added.

All the above facts bear out that the anti-Sikh violence was not spontaneous, as claimed by many important people in India, but, systematic and pre-planned.

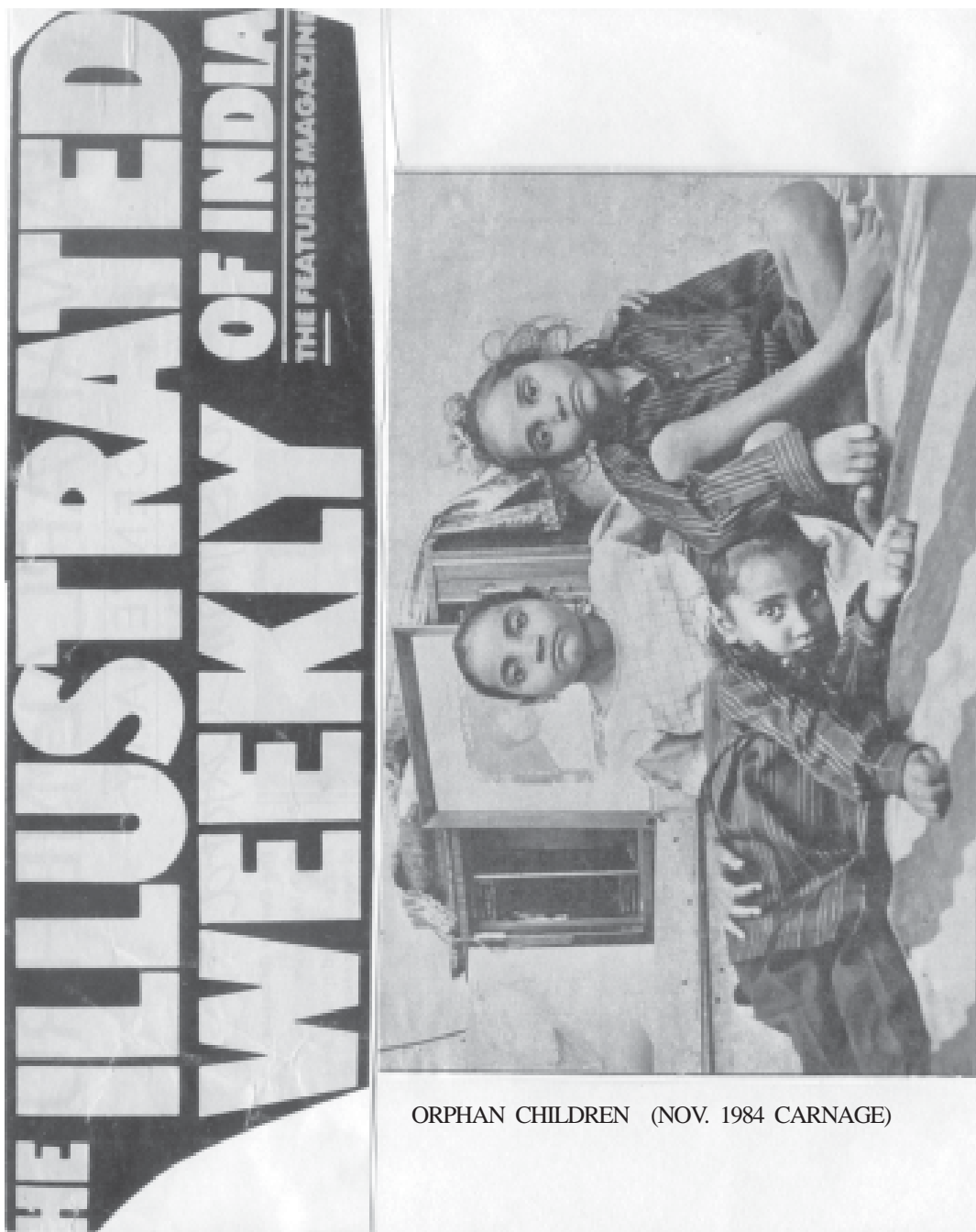
### ***MONGOLPURI***

In west Delhi's Monogolpuri colony, an announcement from a police vehicle in Block G-1, saying that the Capital's water had been poisoned on November 1, is what sparked off the anti-Sikh violence. Two other rumours, that Sikhs were celebrating Mrs. Gandhi's assassination by distributing sweets and that trainloads of dead Hindus were arriving from Punjab, added fuel to the fire.

Anticipating trouble, Sikhs from several blocks went to the police station to seek protection. A woman from the relief camp later told us that the police had turned away the men from her family, saying, "We cannot help you. In any case, you have to pay for what you did. " Many eye-witness accounts confirm that police vehicles were used to transport the arsenal used in the violence, mainly kerosene oil. Some Sikh men from block X, who survived the carnage, said that the police was directly involved in dragging people out of their homes to be killed. Cops would raid a house and then hand over Sikh men to the mob.

The killers included Jats from a neighbouring village and some scheduled caste men from their own area. Workers and local leaders of the Congress party, according to several accounts, supervised the killings sitting in stationary jeeps and other vehicles around the attackers. In Mongolpuri, one Congress party member who finds a repeated mention in the eye-witness accounts is Malaram, said to have led about 300 people who attacked Sikhs. Others who are mentioned in these reports, include, Ishwar Singh, Salim Quereshi and Shaukin, all Congress workers.





ORPHAN CHILDREN (NOV. 1984 CARNAGE)

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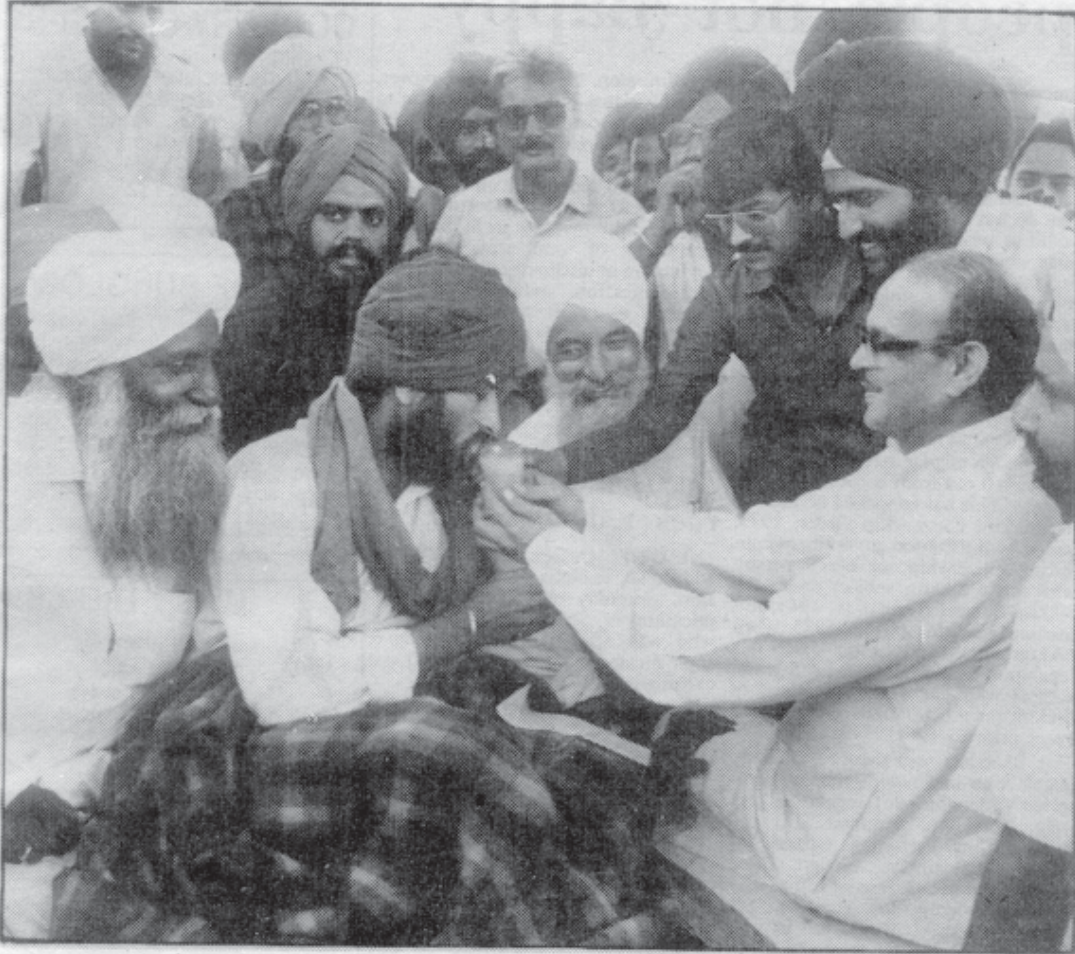
Former member of parliament, Sajjan Kumar, tops the list of those Congressmen who led the attack. A majority of the victims' families say that the violence was master-minded by Sajjan Kumar. Allegations against him of having paid cash and other incentives, such as, liquor bottles to the killers are also quite common. A measure of the survivors' belief that Sajjan Kumar was responsible for the violence is that when he visited a relief camp on November 4, the survivors openly told him he was a killer. The families of those killed refused to touch the food that he had brought to the relief camp. Nor did they allow him to speak.

The story on every woman's lips was the same : The utter brutality with which men and children were killed, some of them forced to cut their hair before being done to death. All the 26 blocks in Mongolpuri were attacked and hardly any Sikh family was spared. As per the government list, however, only nine people were killed in this area whereas an independent survey by the Community party of India (Marxist), at least 51 men were killed. We were taken to several spots where dead bodies had been disposed off, including, a sewerage drain, where, according to some people, more than a hundred dead bodies were dumped.

The army went to the area on November 3 to rescue Sikhs. A man in the relief camp later said that he was about to be set afire when the army trucks rolled into the park, where he had been made to stand with much ceremony by the killer mob. Before the arrival of the army, if there was any help available to Sikhs, it was from their neighbours and friends. Hindus as well as Muslims who put their own lives at risk by giving shelter to Sikhs. A Hindu resident of the area, Mr. C Lal's story makes an obvious point. A victim of India's partition in 1947, Mr. Lal says, he never imagined that he would ever witness the same kind of blood-bath again. His brother's shop was burnt down because the mobs suspected he had given shelter to some Sikhs. Mr. Lal was instrumental in forming a peace committee in his area for the protection of the Sikh community during the days of violence.

## TIMES OF INDIA

DELHI, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1988



The Jan Morcha leader, Mr V. P. Singh, offering a glass of juice to Mr Gurcharan Singh Babbar, who went on hunger-strike in Delhi demanding stringent steps to curb violence against the Sikh community. — TOI photo.

DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

### ***TRILOKPURI VIOLENCE***

The most heart-rending tales of violence were reported from east Delhi's Trilokpuri colony. Five hundred Sikh men and children were burnt alive here in two days (from the night of October 31 to November 2). This chapter was authored by Congress party parliamentarian H K L Bhagat and the local police.

The violence here too was preceded by rumours that Sikhs were celebrating Mrs. Gandhi's assassination and that they had attacked a group of Hindus from inside the local Gurudwara first. According to one version, the violence here was triggered off by Sikhs. However, from among any number of eye-witnesses we talked to, mostly Hindus, nobody could not confirm that he had indeed seen or heard Sikhs celebrating the killing of the prime minister. Some of them did say that, when a group of Hindus were approaching the Gurudwara, Sikhs from inside came out with swords to defend the structure. The swords were only drawn, not used.

After talking to the survivors from this area, the Hindu residents and some press reporters, who were there on the scene of the violence, it can be said that the role of the police in the carnage here was similar to its role in the violence elsewhere. Kalyanpuri police station, under which falls Trilokpuri, there are 113 police personnel, an inspector, who was doubling as station house officer (SHO) and 90 constables. The SHO reached Trilokpuri just when the violence started on November 1. The first thing he did was to remove the Head Constable and the other cops posted in the colony. With this step, he removed whatever fear the mob might have had of the police and whatever confidence the hapless Sikhs might have had of being protected.

The pattern of violence here was even more cruel. While men were brutally killed, women and young girls, barely in their teens were gang-raped. Seven cases of rapes were formally acknowledged by a medical report of J.P. Hospital. There was no attempt by the police at any point of time throughout the three days of violence to stem it although the then Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP), Nikhil Kumar, who went

WIDOWS DEMONSTRATING OUTSIDE MR. BUTA SINGH'S  
(MR. SINGH WAS HOME MINISTER IN THE RAJIV GANDHI GOVERNMENT)



DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

on to become the Chief of Delhi Police later had specific information about the unabated anti-Sikh violence in Block 32 of Trilokpuri.

Rows upon rows of Sikh houses were set on fire along with the inmates but the police control room recorded just three deaths in the area. A reporter from a Delhi-based daily newspaper, who went to Trilokpuri's Block 28 at about 2 p.m. on November 2, was threatened by the mobs and his car was stoned. From there, he went to the police station where the SHO, Shoorvir Singh, told him that there was absolute peace in his area. This, when the reporter himself saw four dead bodies in a truck stationed outside the SHO's office. One of the victims, here reported, was still half alive. Helplessly, the reporter left the police station only to see a crowd of 70 women and children wailing and howling as they were walking down Nizamuddin fly-over. The reporter spotted some army men close by. He sought their intervention but they said they had no orders to intervene. Finally, the reporter made it to the police headquarters at ITO and met the area ACP, Nikhil Kumar. What he heard from Nikhil Kumar shocked him : " I can only be a conduit for your message to the top but, otherwise, I am helpless, just a guest artiste."

The determined reporter went back to Trilokpuri in the evening and saw heaps of dead bodies and burnt houses. The SHO he had met in the morning (who told him that all was quiet in the area) was there along with two constables taking a walk. The reporter went back to the police headquarters and was told by another ACP that there was no trouble in Trilokpuri as per their information. The reporter told him that he had personally seen about 500 dead bodies and had seen the cops doing a head count. Most of the bodies were beyond recognition, according to the reporter.

Senior police officers reached Trilokpuri on the evening of November 2, when the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) had already been posted there and the survivors were making a beeline to some or the other relief camp. Some of the survivors including old men, women and children were either badly burnt or injured. Women



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE  
(BABBAR)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

were howling and narrating how their entire area had been "handed over to the mob by the police." Several witnesses accused Dr. Ashok Kumar of the Congress party of having personally directed the mob to violence. The gravity of the violence in Trilokpuri can be gauged from the fact that stench of half-burnt bodies hit one's nose much before reaching there and, on reaching there, what did one see ? Dogs and rats nibbling at the corpses.

And, in the middle of all this violence and media reports about it, what did Delhi's Lt. Governor have to say ? "The situation is under control." The situation sure was under control of killers and rioters who had the full support of the police to do what they pleased in the two days and nights of November 1 and 2.

With the police actively involved in the massacre and the administration looking the other way, it was only natural that the first help, at least in the relief camps for the survivors, came from volunteers of different organisations. Food and medicines came from these organisations. A woman gave birth to a baby on the same night as she arrived in the camp, in what is one of the many indications of the poignancy of the situation. The authorities, however, sent no help either for her or for those who were badly injured.

It was the volunteers who went to the rescue of Sikhs hiding in their neighbours' houses and shops. The District magistrate had to be literally coaxed into lending a helping hand in the rescue operation. The survivors were later assured all help from the authorities but got none. Farash Bazar camp, where the survivors from the worst-affected Trilokpuri were sent, saw lots of relief measures taken by voluntary organisations but hardly any by the government and, yet, it has been held up by the government as a perfect specimen of its relief work. Such claims are as true as the authorities' claims about there being no threat to peace in Trilokpuri at the peak of violence.

## INDIAN EXPRESS



1984 riots widows demonstrating against the accused during a hearing, in the Delhi High Court, on Monday.— *EXpress* photo by Ravi Batra

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## WELL-PLANNED CONSPIRACY

A careful study of the various reports on the carnage and hundreds of different eye-witness accounts makes it evident that the anti-Sikh violence was the result of a well-planned conspiracy. The madness and the blood-bath in which the Indian Capital drowned in the aftermath of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, were not the result of any mass upsurge or emotional spontaneity. There was a method in the madness.

### **(A) MEETINGS WERE ORGANISED ON OCTOBER 31, 1984**

Following is a first person account of a taxi driver, Ram Singh (the name has been changed for his safety): A prominent Congress Party leader of Vinod Nagar called a special meeting on the evening of October 31. Present in the meeting were a notorious ? smuggler and some other known goondas. The meeting lasted until midnight.

The participants at the meeting, alongwith 200 to 250 people attacked my house on November 1. They used iron rods to break open the doors. We, Ram Singh's two sons and I, were sleeping. Ordered the mob to pour kerosene oil over us and burn us alive. I got up with a start grabbed my *kirpan* and jumped out of the window. A neighbour, a Hindu from Himachal Pradesh, helped me escape.

- (1) A Nihang serving in the Pandav Nagar Gurudwara, Surjit Singh, escaped death because he was away on the morning of November 1 but his wife, daughter Minu, aged nine, and a friend, Nahan Singh and his wife, were all burnt alive. I met Surjit Singh in the relief camp. He seemed to have gone mad.
- (2) On October 31, in Khajoori Bhajanpur Block of Trans Yamuna's Gamrhi area, a prominent Congress Party leader belonging to the Gujjar community, held a meeting in which his son, who has a kerosene oil depot (state-sanctioned) and the principal of a local school participated. These people actually drew up a list



SMT. DARSHAN KAUR: MAIN WITNESS AGAINST FORMER UNION MINISTER  
OF INDIA SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT REGARDING NOV. 1984 CARNAGE.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
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of Sikh families to be attacked on November 1. According to a report on the Nanaksar relief camp, it is difficult to describe the barbarity and brutality with which people were killed in the following two-and-a-half-days. One hundred and fifty Sikhs belonging to the families which took shelter in this camp were killed. Among the killed 45 percent were from Nand Nagari, most of them from Block 1 to 3, Punjabi Muhalla and Bhajanpura. Block C reported the maximum killings. There are 72 widows in age group 20-45 from here alone.

- (3) On October 31 evening, A Congress party leader held a meeting in Kalekhan basti near Nizamuddin, in which members of the Gujjar community besides a well-known doctor. All the participants were Congress workers or supporters. They too were busy making plans to be implemented in the following days.

***(B) POLITICAL ORGANISERS OF THE CARNAGE***

There were three types of Congress workers who organised the massacre: Those who identified Sikh houses and other property and drew up proper lists, those who organised the mobs and directed them to the targets and, finally, those who provided the 'arsenal' for the carnage, including, petrol and kerosene oil. According to the survivors, most of the organisers were local leaders of the Congress party and some small-time criminals, besides the notorious ones. The suppliers of kerosene oil and petrol, to sell both of which requires a government permit, were either Congress leaders or those who had solid links with Congressmen, says the Nanaksar report.

Independent surveys too had the survivors (19 percent) and Hindu neighbours of the victims (20 percent) blaming the Congress party leaders, workers and supporters for the anti-Sikh violence. The opinion of such a large number of people cannot be ignored without risking a serious breach of truth. Among those who openly instigated the mobs and spread rumours about the Sikh community having poisoned Delhi's water were a prominent Congress leader and an associate of his three other with them included





**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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a sweeper and a charas-smuggler. Many of those who led the attacks were smartly dressed and alighted from cars and jeeps, in what can be seen as solid pointers to their social and economic status.

According to our survey of three different groups of survivors off-white from Patparganj, Khichripur and Kalyanpur, an off-white matador, which had about a dozen people inside, including, a Congress Councillor, went to Pandavnagar and the occupants of the vehicle were seen handing over sticks and rifles to the mob with the instruction that they should be used to "eliminate Sikhs."

The list of people who went to Pandavnagar in the matador, includes, former Union Minister H K L Bhagat, former chief of Delhi Congress Tazdar Babbar, a Congress Metropolitan Councillor and an employee of the Union Home Ministry, Mr. Vedi. However, no action has been taken against any one of them.

In Bhogal, two Congress workers, including one who has a sweets shop, personally directed the mob to loot Sikh shops, a direction that was religiously implemented.

In Mongolpuri, a white Ambassador car occupant, who could not hide his identity (a Congress Leader), despite wearing a mask, was seen giving instructions to a mob. Shortly afterwards, the nearby Gurudwara was burnt down.

In east Vinodnagar, white khadi-clad young men came in two buses and led the local goons gathered there to attack the houses and other property of Sikhs. It was under their direction that Sikhs were burnt alive.

In Jehangirpuri, the man who instigated the mob to kill and loot Sikhs, was a Congress leader. He has been repeatedly named by the survivors as the person who helped identify the property and other establishments of Sikhs.

According to an affidavit filed by Trilokpuri's Gurdip Kaur, about 500 people came to Block 32 on November 1 and although it was not possible for her to identify a majority of them, she recognised some of the killers responsible for the murder of her family members. She has identified Tello, Manu, Jagga and his wife, Draupdi, Kishori

*Hundreds of widows Led by Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar met former Prime Minister V.P. Singh at his residence demanding justice*



MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

Jamandar ( a meat seller), Rampal Saroj (Congress party goon under whose supervision many Sikhs were brutally killed), Rooplal and his three sons, who, she said, were notorious thieves.

Rampal Saroj, said Gurdip Kaur, went to their street and assured the Sikh families that no harm would be done to them. He even told them to stay put in their houses as the "only means of escaping the mob violence." Later, she said, she could not believe her eyes when she saw him leading the killers to their street. He attacked their houses and men within five hours of the first visit which was supposed to be a friendly one. Many sikhs were beaten to death or burnt alive under his supervision, she added.

#### ***(C) THE PROCESS OF IDENTIFICATION OF SIKH HOUSES AND PROPERTY***

The process of identification was as neatly planned as the violence that followed. (1) Goons went around on two-wheelers and other vehicles from house to house before coming back with more people. (2) School registers were searched to identify Sikh houses. (3) Ration card and Voters' lists, which can only be procured from official sources, were another method to identify Sikh houses. (4) The houses and other property were marked with alphabets X, D (D) and S in an operation akin to what the Nazis did to the establishments of Jews in Germany. A shopkeeper from Bhajanpura market was personally seen marking the Sikh houses and shops.

#### ***(D) WEAPONS FOR THE CARNAGE***

Kerosene oil was procured from ration shop owners and kerosene depot owners, some of the owners having been intimidated into supplying it but many were more than willing contributors and, later, even participated directly in the mob violence.

The plotters did not need any intoxicant before hatching the plan but the mobs apparently needed liquor before they could go for the savage killings. Liquor bottles were distributed free to the mobs before the carnage.





**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

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In some cases, kerosene oil was mixed with phosphorous (many witnesses referred to it as white powder) and another chemical, obviously, for 'fast results.'

Diesel and petrol procured from petrol pumps and private vehicles.

**(E) HOW THE MOBS WERE ORGANISED**

- (1) About 500 people armed with sticks, iron rods, soda–water bottles and kerosene oil–tins went to Harinagar Ashram in two groups. One group landed there at 9.45 a.m. on November 1 by a local train and another one at 11 a.m. the same morning by Narmada Express. Most of the people in these groups were from the jhuggi-jhonpri colonies (where the poorest of the urban poor live) but they were led by a Congress leader and his three associates. The groups divided their 'work', with one heading towards Balasahib Gurudwara and the other towards Shaalimar Bagh, a predominantly Sikh colony.
- (2) In Jehangirpuri, the mobs included some local residents and people from the neighbouring villages of Bhalsava Ramgarh and Badli.
- (3) The killers came from the neighbouring areas either by bus (ironically, the state bus services were not discontinued) or, just walked it down.
- (4) In Sultanpuri, the mob come from Pooth village alongwith local goons from Block C-2, C-3, C-4, and C-6. I have the names of all these *goondas* and can furnish them to the authorities, provided they are interested.
- (5) In Punjabi Bagh and Madipur, the people who led the mobs were the same who organise ploitical and other rallies for the Congress party.





Swami Agnivesh addressing the riot widows at the Boat Club on Wednesday. — HT photo

The then Lt. Governor of Delhi, Mr. P.G. Gavai, at a press conference on November 4, 1984, referred to the colonies where the riotous mobs were most violent. These are the same colonies which provided the mass of people attending the Congress rallies before 1984. And, hardly any political rally, as we know in India, is spontaneously attended. Mongolpuri, Sultanpuri, Trilokpuri and Kalyanpuri were the testing ground of the Congress leaders' organising ability. According to a report in the Statesman (November 5, 1984) in Jehangirpuri, the mob killed a group of people during the anti-Sikh violence merely on suspicion that these people had not voted for Congress in the preceding year's municipal corporation election.

**(F) *THE MOB MAKE-UP***

- (1) Notorious criminals, whose names are linked to many offences in the official books, were involved in the violence and there are many who would stand witness against them.
- (2) People from the Scheduled and other lower castes such as *Khatik, Chamaar, Purbias, Jamandaara and Bhangis*, most of whom breed pigs.
- (3) Other backward castes like *Jats, Gujjars and Ahirs*, many of whom were poor land-owners whose agricultural land was later acquired by the government for establishing urban residential and commercial buildings.

**(G) *THE KILLERS***

The survivors of the carnage say that most of the killers were *Jat land-owners, Bhangis* and notorious criminals from their own areas. Some of the killers have openly claimed that they were paid a fee by Congress leaders to kill and loot Sikhs. Even before the carnage, the common man in their areas was scared of them because they were always drunk and fishing for trouble. Survivors from Bhogal and Sultanpuri have alleged that some cops were among the killers.

FORMER PRIME MINISTER SHRI V.P. SINGH TALKING TO MR. BABBAR AT BOAT CLUB, WHERE THE LATTER HELD SEVERAL DHARNAS IN PROTEST AGAINST THE NOVEMBER 1984 VIOLENCE



So many years after they were attacked, the victims' families are still in dread of the following three categories of killers-the cops, political leaders and *Gujjars*. Even among them, there are some who are believed to be more savage than the others including who is a notorious criminal operating in Gamrh, Bhajanpura and Khajoori and is a close associate of a Congress leader. He has got a licensed revolver and played a direct role in both planning the massacre and the killings.

A dreaded criminal from the *gujjar* community who was supplying milk to a Sikh flat-owner in Nand Nagri, is known to have murdered the family during the massacre.

#### ***(H) THE METHODOLOGY OF VIOLENCE***

The method of attack depended on the numbers constituting the mob. If the number was large enough, the mob attacked gurudwaras, Sikh houses, shops and other property simultaneously. For instance, in Harinagar Ashram, the mob divided the 'work' between two groups who went into different directions for killing and looting. However, in cases where the mob was small, say just 100 to 150 people, the violence followed a different course.

The first targets were Gurudwaras, followed by houses and shops.

The organised way in which the massacre was carried out leaves no room for doubt that the killers were all highly 'skilled' at their job.

#### ***(I) REPEATED INSPECTION OF SIKH ESTABLISHMENTS***

The mob came repeatedly to Sikh houses and shops until it got its victims. In Bhogal, the mob set fire to many shops at 11 a.m. on November 1 and came back three hours later to make sure that the job had been done well. In Jehangirpuri, where it had set fire to people in their houses, the same exercise, of repeating the visit, was carried out.



WIDOWS OF NOV. 1984 CARNAGE DEMONSTRATING OUTSIDE THE PRIME MINISTER'S SHRI RAJIV  
GANDHI'S RESIDENCE IN 1987, ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

### **(J) SLOGANS COINED FOR THE MASSACRE**

Slogans, the lifematter of all systematic campaigns, catchily coined by the Congress party members, played a very significant role in prompting the anti-Sikh violence.

The slogans were directed at three points : Emphasising the greatness of Mrs Gandhi and the need for revenge against the Sikh community, marking the entire Sikh community as anti-national and prompting the crowds to eliminate the community.

For instance, look at the following slogans:

***Jab tak sooraj chand rahega, Indira tera naam rahega***

***Khoon ka badla khoon***

(Indira's name will live as long as the sun and the moon do. Seek blood for blood.)

***sardaron ko jala do, namon nishan mita do***

(Burn the sikhs alive and let no trace of them remain)

***Hindu Muslim bhai bhai, sardaron ki karo safai***

(Hindus and Muslims are brothers but let no Sikh remain)

### **(K) RUMOURS**

Rumours, again potent catalysts for creating mass hysteria, were also spread systematically, and, in three different stages.

#### **STAGE ONE**

On the evening of October 31, just one rumour did the rounds. Mrs Gandhi had been killed and the Sikh community in the Capital and elsewhere was celebrating. Doordarshan the official electronic media, with a monopoly over all-India telecast, focussed its coverage on the assassination by repeatedly showing Mrs Gandhi's corpse and by declaring time and again that she had been killed by two Sikh security guards. Doordarshan, evidently, played a role even in instigating the masses by continually airing





MRS. ANWAR KAUR: MAIN WITNESS AGAINST FORMER CONGRESS M. P. SAJJAN KUMAR

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

the blood-thirsty Congress supporters who were shouting frenzied slogans, "khoon ka badla khoon (seek blood for blood)."

The rumour about Sikhs celebrating Mrs Gandhi's assassination by distributing sweets and doing 'bhangra' was so strong that even the literate population believed it and was outraged by it although not one single person in our survey could later confirm that he or she had personally seen or heard any Sikh celebrate the killing.

## STAGE TWO

On November 1, When Sikhs were being hacked and burnt alive and their women were being gang-raped, three rumours, with the apparent aim of ensuring that mass sympathy does not turn in their favour, were systematically spread by the political workers of the ruling party, famed for their skills at propaganda? The rumours were that every Gurudwara that was burnt was actually a godown for arms and ammunition, that after the first round of killings, Sikhs were preparing to strike back. 'They will strike at night and they will kidnap Hindu children,' were the kind of rumours that turned even the most neutral citizen against the community. Some people, including small-time workers and labourers even asked their employers to keep their children and valuables in their safe custody. No evidence of any one Gurudwara having even a single weapon of attack was found but the rumour about Gurudwaras being arsenals of weapons had already turned the mass psyche against the Sikhs.

One very bizarre slogan which emanated from the Chandni Chowk police station was, "*raat hamari, din tumhara* ( the day is yours and the night ours, for killings). The source of this slogan was that the police, which did not get its share of the booty from a Sikh jeweller's shop in Chandni Chowk, raided the shop in the night and grabbed whatever was left. Although the slogan actually meant that the mob would loot in the day time and the cops at night, it was twisted to attribute



DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR) AGAINST THE MISHRA COMMISSION REPORT AT BOAT CLUB DELHI

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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retaliatory strikes by the Sikh community when the truth is that some Sikhs, who had licensed weapons for their defence had no time to use them because of the scale of violence against them. The third, and the worst rumour, was that some Sikhs had poisoned Delhi's water. Anonymous callers phoned up newspaper offices and that of the Delhi Municipal Corporation to say that ordinary citizens should avoid drinking water. This rumour had a very negative impact on the entire city and fuelled mistrust against Sikhs besides of course stripping them of sympathy for their plight.

### **STAGE THREE**

When train lads of dead Sikhs were arriving in Delhi, the rumour that was systematically spread was that Sikhs of Punjab were sending trainloads of Hindu dead bodies. Apparently, it was important to reverse the truth as an indication to the killer mobs not to halt their job of "eliminating every trace of the Sikh community."

An analysis of the four days of mass-scale and unprecedented violence directed against an entire community proves amply, if proof is needed, that the plotters were moving like ace chess players. The most notorious political and community leaders, held meeting in their areas and assigned jobs to people-of mobilising mobs, distributing weapons of assault, identifying Sikh houses and shops and of making repeated rounds of these places to complete the task of killing. Gurudwaras, rumoured to be stock-houses of arms, were the first target of the mobs.

The aim of the violence was to systematically annihilate Sikhs, both mentally and physically. The slogans, as is evident from the analysis above, were very cleverly and carefully coined.



PUBLIC MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

## BACKGROUND OF KILLERS

A close study of the mob character in east and west Delhi (where the local leaders instigated the mob), shows that the mobs actually came from neighbouring villages, where a majority of the population is made up of *Gujjars* and *Jats*. They were brought to the urban colonies by bus and other vehicles. Scheduled Caste too played a major role in the massacre.

Even more significant is the fact that in Trilokpuri, Mongolpuri and Sultanpuri, local Congress party workers and leaders led the killer mobs. It may be recalled here that these colonies were set up under the Congress party's urbanisation programme and the population here has since been (since 1985) a solid chunk of political support for the party. The Congress party, which is losing ground in every part of every Indian State, still commands major political influence in such colonies and even today, party leaders organise their rallies on the strength of these supporters. These new colonies, boasted a Congress party leader, are "the party's mistress."

*Jats* and *Gujjars* from surrounding villages and townships also played a very important role in the massacre particularly, in west and south Delhi areas. Most of these people were once land-owners in places like Mohammedpur, Munirka and Ber Sarai. They hit the jackpot when their land was acquired by the Delhi administration as part of an urbanisation drive. Prior to the land acquisition, however they were very poor because their land was almost barren, not fit for any agricultural use. So, they, like most poverty-stricken people, had to resort to several under-hand and illegal ways to eke out a living .

In the post-land acquisition phase, the Sultanpuri *Jats* and *Gujjaras* not only came into money but also political clout and it is an unstated rule for all politically ambitious people that, without the support of *Jats* and *Gujjars*. no election can be



AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK WITH THE FAMILY OF NOV. 84 CARNAGE VICTIM



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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won. Unfortunately, there are many members of these communities in the Delhi police force and are posted in these colonies, so that there is a clear nexus between the criminals and the cops in these areas. The 1984 violence is ample proof of that nexus. In the process of urbanisation, although a majority of the Scheduled Caste population did not get land and other monetary benefits, many of them were given government jobs under the government's policy of job reservation quotas for these and other backward castes. *Bhangis* got jobs in the Delhi Municipal Corporation and *Dhanak* caste people (considered to be the lowest) also got similar work in various government establishments in the newly-urbanised colonies and are the known supporters of the Congress party along with *Jats* and *Gujjars*. As is evident from the analysis above, they all played a key role in the anti-Sikh violence.

It would be relevant to quote some statistics regarding the demographic structure of the Indian Capital. Delhi has a population of 73 percent Hindus and seven-and-a-half percent Sikhs. Most of the Sikhs settled here after the country's partition and prior to 1947, the Sikh population was just a little over one percent of the total.

***THE ROLE OF DELHI POLICE.***

The police played a uniform role throughout the city during the days of anti-Sikh violence from October 31 to November 8 (When the army was withdrawn after being called on November 3 ). The police did the following three things: It was completely absent in most areas and, where present, it looked the other way. Worse still, many police personnel played a direct and indirect role in carrying out the killings and looting. If this is not telling enough, there is more.

On November 1, when the rioters were killing, burning and looting in South Delhi's Lajpat Nagar area, a single police van stationed there was doing nothing to stop the mobs but trying to prevent a procession of peace-marchers (all common citizens



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outraged at the mass-scale violence) from moving towards the area. An Inspector prohibited the peace-marchers from going to the spot of violence because of curfew in the city (under section 144 of the Indian Penal Code). The Inspector was quoting rules to the peace-marchers while the killers had been given a free-hand to fill their cup of anti-Sikh violence. The Inspector even told the peace-marchers to proceed towards the rioting mobs at their own risk. The marchers went ahead and tried to calm the mobs by telling them that ordinary Sikhs, who were being targeted by them, were not responsible for Mrs. Gandhi's assassination and that the anti-Sikh violence must be stopped. They raised slogans like "*Hindu-Sikh bhai bhai*" in order to pacify the mob. But some men from the mob retaliated, "*Indira Gandhi Zindabad, Hindu-Hindu bhai bhai.*"

It is significant to note that peace-marchers all over the city were reduced to a joke by the blood-thirsty mobs and although the mob claimed to be mourning the assassination of Mother India (as Mrs. Gandhi's was referred to), there was not the slightest sign of grief on their faces. Had it not been for the killing and the the looting, one would have thought the mobs were participating in a carnival.

In some cases the police, even when it was approached by Sikhs for protection, either refused to help or when it did offer help, it was to the killers, not to those getting killed. According to the account of many witnesses, policemen actually helped the mobs in identifying the houses of Sikhs and, in Trilokpuri, a police vehicle was seen handing out diesel oil to the mob which had fallen short of it. The SHO, Kalyanpuri (under Trilokpuri district), has been charged with recalling some cops stationed in the colony just when Sikh women were being gang-raped after their men had been killed. The SHO of Sultanpuri police station, Bhatti, is alleged to have snatched the weapons of Sikhs who were trying to defend themselves against the killer mobs. Residents of Loni Road in east Delhi say that the police used mikes to announce from moving vehicles that Sikhs should prepare to defend themselves as the police was no longer responsible for their safety. A woman from this place says, she saw some men throwing stones at



FORMER PRIME MINISTER VP. SINGH, FORMER UNION MINISTER OF STATE FOR HOME SUBHADH KANT SAHAY  
FOR MER IP TARIF SINGH AND SOCIAL ACTIVIST SWAMI AGNIVESH, AT A RALLY IN A TILAK VIHAR, A  
REHABILITATION COLONY FOR THE WIDOWS. MR. BABBAR IS ADDRESSING THE RALLY



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Sikh shops from a police vehicle and, in another instance, a cop was seen directing the crowd to loot a shop before burning it down. In Kotla Mubarak, a domestic help told one of our party workers that the police instigated the mob with such statements : “We gave you 36 hours to finish the Sikhs, but what did you do ? Had we given the same amount of time to Sikhs they would have finished all the Hindus.” The survivors in the Kingsway Camp claimed that 70 percent of the loot from Sikh establishments could be found in the local police station, such was the role of the police in the violence. Even Hindu neighbors of those affected by the violence in some cases would vouch for the fact that the police refused to register the first information reports (FIR). One eminent Sikh, whose house was burnt on November 1, failed to get an FIR registered despite repeated pleas to the police. In Mongolpuri an SHO is learnt to have told the Hindu neighbour of a Sikh family not to bother about the safety of Sikhs and bother instead about the safety of Hindus.

Two residents of Ber Sarai, Dharmraj and Rajvir Pawar have a telling story. They went to the R.K. Puram police station on the night of November 1 to seek protection for a Sikh neighbour. The rest of the neighbours were, meanwhile, busy trying to protect the neighbour targeted by a mob, led by congress party member. Jagdish Tokas. The SHO R.K. Puram told the Pawar brothers that he could do nothing to help while the constables on duty questioned the wisdom of "*Jats* (pawars are also *Jats*) helping the Sikhs instead of killing them." " Don't you know Sikhs are sending train-loads of Hindu dead bodies from Punjab?" the Pawars were asked. Not to forget here, however, that some police officers did try and intervene to stop the violence but their efforts and good intentions got lost in the majority voice, which was filled with hatred and hostility against the Sikhs as a community. A senior police officer told me that when he heard about a couple of thousand people 'patrolling' the streets of Delhi on two-wheelers, scooters and motorbikes, he tried to contact the detective wing of the Delhi Police, the CID or Central Investigation Department but that he failed to make any contact although CID is supposed to have a wireless communication network.



## TIMES OF INDIA



Victims of the 1984 killings on an indefinite sit-in at Boat Club to demand the restoration of their pensions. —TOI

# 1984 riot victims on sit-in at Boat Club

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, September 15. IS it a case of red-tapism or official harassment? About 30 elderly Sikh men and women, most of them residents of Tilak Vihar, are on a sit-in at the Boat Club because their pension has been "abruptly stopped" by the district commissioner's office. While the authorities have a legal explanation for it, some Sikh activists see the step as another way of harassing these people — many of whom had reportedly filed cases against "top officials" for participating in the 1984 killings.

These elderly persons were the recipients of a Rs 1,000 per month pension given to people who had lost their family members in the 1984 massacre. All of them are in their sixties and all have tales of woe to narrate. Says Mrs Mukuli Kaur, "I lost two sons in 1984. I was left behind with five grandchildren. I need this pension to survive. If the government can return my dead sons to me, then I won't ask for any pension".

Explains Mr Sugna Singh, "We were given these pensions after five years of promise when V.P. Singh came into power. But we received it only for two years. Suddenly, the pensions were discontinued last year. We were shown no order and given no prior information. When

nation does not cut much ice with Mrs S. Kaur who lost a son in 1984. "They can cut off my pension, but can they return my son to me?" she asks. And what if the surviving sons of these pensioners are unable or unwilling to support their parents? Mr Verma recognises this probability. But he sets out the official view in plain words. He explains, "The decision is based of the Hindu tradition where grown-up sons are expected to support their parents. If we make exceptions in some cases, we will get a lot of claims even by people who are really being supported by their children". Evidently, in these days of economic restructuring, the government does not want to spend more than it has to.

The deprived pensioners claim that very often their surviving sons are not properly employed. Moreover, points out one wizened old Sikh, even when they earn something, they do not earn enough to feed the entire family. Mr Gurcharan Singh Babbar of the All India Sikh Conference (Babbar) claims that there have been "atleast five deaths due to lack of food or money to buy clothing and medicines since the pensions were cut off". While these deaths have probably been due to old age, the

**'HARASSED BY POLICE:** Mr Babbar also alleges that the pensioners are being harassed by "men from different police agencies" who keep visiting them at odd hours. He states that many of these pensioners had filed cases against top police officers who were allegedly involved in the 1984 killings and adds that one such police officer occupies a senior post in the area. He also claims that while these 1984 riot victims have been deprived of their pension, they are also being threatened with eviction by the authorities. Some of the pensioners complain they are being sent "inflated electric and water bills running up to Rs 12,000".

The young men of such families in Tilak Vihar, all of whom can recall the loss of atleast one near relative, present a disturbing picture. They often lack the education or the vocational training that can help them find decent jobs. Living in poverty, they seem to have very little faith in the "system that has let the murderers of 1984 escape unpunished while the victims continue to be punished economically". Such despair and anger leaves them open to criminal influences and subversive ideas. As Mr Babbar points out, "The apathy and neglect of the government creates more militants than all the training camps of Pakistan".

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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In the face of the all-out police negligence and connivance in the violence, it would be naive to imagine that it could happen without the knowledge of the Union Home Ministry, which, till date, controls the police set up (in what is a major bone of contention between the state and the central government). It is important to recall here that Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao was India's Home Minister at the time (having been appointed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who took over as prime minister after his mother's assassination). It was Mr. Rao who was responsible for ensuring the safety of ordinary citizens. If he felt that the police personnel were not enough or that they were unfit to deal with the situation, he had it within his powers to call the para-military forces to contain the situation. Mr. Rao, who later became the country's prime minister (ignore the fact that he is the only prime minister to have been charged with cheating, bribery and forgery in India) was, even then, seen as an "able administrator", the main reason why he was chosen to be India's Home minister by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. He could even have summoned the army if he thought the situation warranted it and yet Mr. Rao neither called the para-military nor the army until the worst of the carnage was over (not before 5,000 sikhs had been massacred in an unprecedented show of mob violence in free India). And, if this is not bad enough, he went on the national telecast to say, "enough has happened, we must stop now." Was this statement of his evidence of bad English (but then he is hailed as the only scholar leader of the Congress party after Jawaharlal Nehru !) or, evidence of the official policy ? For, did not Mr. Rajiv Gandhi justify the massacre with that infamous statement, "when a great tree falls, the earth shakes." ? If governance and a political system are worth anything, and we are not just talking about the world's largest democracy, the killer mobs could not and would not have moved an inch towards their targets without the implicit and explicit sanction of the authorities and the highest authority of them all was the country's home minister, Mr. Rao. I need say no more on Mr. Rao's role or that of the police, which takes orders from the home ministry.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

## **THE HINDU**



NOV. 84 RIOT WIDOW WEEPING FOR JUSTICE OUTSIDE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA  
DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

### ***THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION***

The ruling party and the bureaucracy, taking orders from the former, both deliberately and wilfully neglected their duties right from October 31 to November 4, 1984. Many opposition leaders would vouch for the fact that their pleas to the administration to contain the situation in the post-assassination period went unheard. When opposition leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee (who is now the leader of the opposition in the people's house) contacted Mr. Rao on October 31, the latter is reported to have assured him that the situation would be brought under control within a few hours. Never mind the fact that just when Mr. Rao was saying this to Mr. Vajpayee, the Additional Commissioner of Police, Gautam Kaul, was telling a crowd outside Ayurvigyan Institute that the police was in no position to control the situation. Surprisingly, Mr. Kaul was later promoted.

According to information provided by highly placed sources, a meeting at Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's residence (No 1, Safdarjang Road, which is now a national museum, his late mother's residence) on October 31, a senior police officer made an emphatic suggestion that the army should be called to contain the situation but he was not heard. The meeting, presided over by the prime minister, was also attended by the then Lt. Government of Delhi, P.G. Gavai and Congress leader M.L. Fotdedar (a close associate of Mrs. Gandhi's), among other top people of the administration. On November 1, when Delhi was literally on fire, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi phoned up his cabinet colleagues, Mr. Shiv Shankar and P.V. N. Rao, to find out what the ground situation was. The ministers assured the prime minister that the army was about to be deployed and that curfew would also be imposed. In the afternoon, the same day, a delegation of prominent citizens met the country's president and wanted to know the government's mind on calling the army. So, there were some feeble attempts to contain the situation but even they turned out to be non-starters.

What we saw and experienced, however, not only points to the sins of omission

# Losing faith in the law

**Two thousand seven hundred and thirty-three people died in the November '84 riots. This is one bitter truth the Sikh community has chosen not to forget. Another is that nobody has been brought to book for the carnage. All the killers roam free; some even in the glare of publicity. SHIBI ALEX CHANDY gauge the mood of the Sikhs there. His report:**

**New Delhi, Dec. 5.** The narrow road that bisects Tilak Nagar Market and goes west could well be leading to hell. A kilometre beyond the bright neon lights of the obviously prosperous market the road winds its way to the ill-lit and gloomy surroundings of Tilak Vihar where nearly 3,000 families affected in the infamous November '84 riots are packed into 870 LIG flats and a sprawling slum of nearly 2,000 neatly-kept shacks. The residents of the slum enjoyed better lifestyles not long ago. Fear brought them together to Tilak Vihar and its squalor.

Jaswinder Kaur welcomes us graciously into her one-room cane shack, parting curtains that also double up as doors. "Remnants from our 'pucca' house in Sultanpuri," she says with unnecessary enthusiasm, stressing the 'pucca' to convey that she did not always live in the slums.

The radio, the bedspread on the cot that occupies half the shack, the curtain that demarcates the kitchen within the shack, the little shelf with a pressure cooker and other utensils in the "kitchen" and the general order and cleanliness all suggest that the inhabitants enjoyed to better living conditions not too long ago. Sorry about the lack of space, she says apologetically.

Kaur is well-informed. She has heard of the Rs 50,000 relief recently announced by the government. She also knows about the Jain-Banerjee committee which recommended the arrest of former Congress(I) MP Sajjan Kumar for allegedly instigating murderous mobs in Sultanpuri. "Nothing will

come of it (the committee's investigations)," she says. "There are so many eye-witnesses. Why hasn't he been arrested so far?" She claims that she herself saw Kumar during those three violent days. "Yes, he was there himself. But most of the time it was his chanchas, Gupta laelwale, Nathu Pradhan and the ration shop owner Halumal who were active."

"Don't forget Danny," chips in a

"They took away everything," he says in a matter-of-fact tone. He is too bewildered to ask for justice but joins the crowd as we move on.

In the LIG flats live the lucky few who got allotments from the Delhi administration. Ajay Kaur and her two sons aged eight and 12 are among them. "Look, how young he was," she says, producing a photograph of her dead husband.

colony. "But the fact remains that this is the environment in which these children are growing up. At least these two are very young, the older ones, the ones in their teens, will get violent if you broach the subject. They are waiting for an opportunity to strike back at the killers of their near and dear ones. They won't be satisfied till the killers roam free."

As we walk down the main road



A widow with her children: no solace. File photo by PRAVEEN JAIN

young Sikh who entered the shack while the conversation is on. "Danny ne akele bees ko maara hoga," he says. "The court even has the Kukri with which he killed all those people. I saw it."

A few shacks away lives Sumer Singh. He lost four sons in the riots and talks of nothing else. All his four sons were killed the same day; and two of them—Ajit and Shankar—were no a holiday from Iraq where they used to work.

of Tilak Vihar that separates the slums from the bulk of the LIG flats, we encounter some of the older ones, the ones in their teens. "We will never get total justice. But I will be satisfied even if only 1,000 people are brought to book," says one, who does most of the talking. The others maintained a hostile silence. The general attitude "what is apply put in Punjab as 'Jh lewanga."

Auma Singh, who is the secretary

of the All-India Sikh Conference, has been trying to "bring the Sikh youth back into the national mainstream"; but does not appear too confident about the chances of succeeding in the task. "We have nothing to sustain their hopes for justice," says a defected Singh. "In the early days, soon after the riots we told them that we must adopt legal methods to redress our grievances and seek justice. Our argument, Singh goes on, is not going down well with the Sikh youths anymore as the results are singularly absent even after three years of the carnage. "We have neither received proper rehabilitation nor justice. Even the few youth we have won over are deserting us now."

Further down the road a lathi-wielding Sikh boy greets Auma Singh, *Ki baad hat pradhanji. Saddle layak kot sear? Far mein jhalse-waise rich nabin jawanga. Kot Marn-maran da kaam ko le dasso.* Auma Singh appears embarrassed and sends the boy on his way. "Things are not so bad," assures Auma Singh, attempting to gloss over the conversation. "These are youngsters and they can be won over. Only they have to be rehabilitated properly. The government must do everything possible. It is for the good of the country."

The picture is gloomy like the surroundings. And the police check post at the entry point to the colony completes the scenario. Some Sikhs and voluntary organisations are making feeble attempts to end the feeling of alienation of the Sikhs. But the question is: "are these efforts enough?"



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by the government but also those of commission. What else can explain the following facts ? On November 1, throughout the day and night, Sikh shops were being burnt down right in the heart of the New Delhi, Connaught Place. Police and para-military were very much there on the scene but none of them lifted even a little finger to stop the crowd.

On November 2, the newspapers carried government announcements on their front pages about "indefinite curfew" and "shoot at sight orders" and these announcements were being made in the middle of the massacre (when armed mobs were combing the streets and residential complexes for Sikhs). In fact, on November 2, the mobs were much larger and more vicious in their killing acts.

In Lajpat Nagar, the police was sitting quiet as the mobs lay in wait for their prey right on the main roads. So brazen was the mob that when the army marched through Lajpat Nagar on that afternoon, not one of them even made the pretence of moving away. Very ceremoniously, they made way for the army to march through and then sat right back on the road.

Two opposition MPs. made repeated requests to Mr. Rao and Mr. Shiv Shankar to provide security to Sikhs travelling in trains coming from Punjab and elsewhere but nothing was done. The result was the butchering of Sikhs travelling through or to Delhi. According to one newspaper report, four Sikhs were found dead at New Delhi railway station on November 2, and this number was just the tip of the iceberg. But so smug was the official machinery that Doordarshan denied the newspaper report as though mere denials would stop the anti-Sikh violence. A Statesman correspondent reported that at Tughlakabad station, he saw two charred bodies lying on the platform and, a few yards across, a group of the army. On November 3, the army was called but it either reached the scene of violence afterwards or hardly did anything to save the situation. It was only over the next week or so that the army played any effective role but by then the worst had already happened. According to our information, the Faridabad DC asked for army help on November 1, but received it only on November 3.

## HINDU

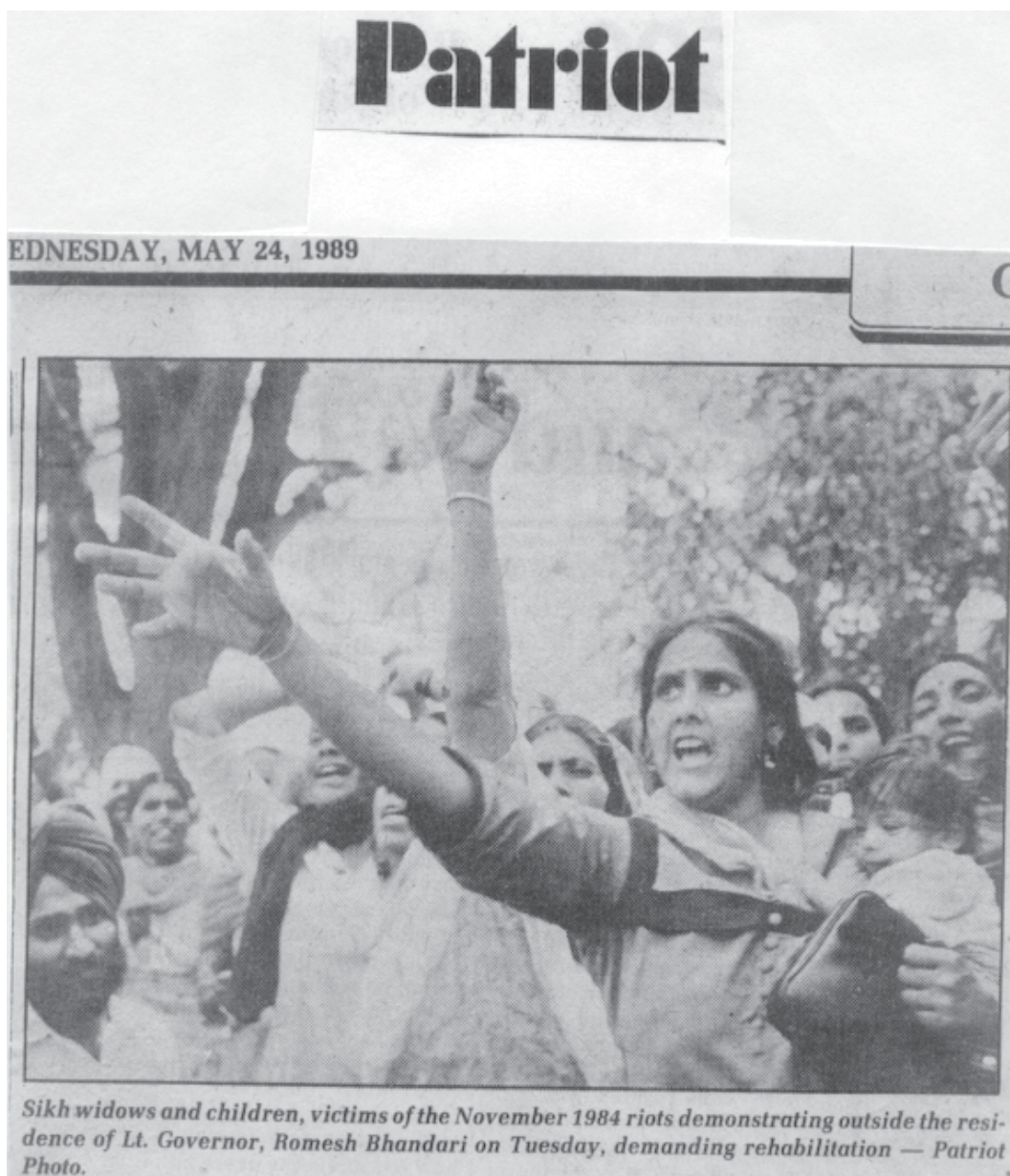


While analysing the role of the administration through those dark, death-filled days, we cannot just end the matter by laying the blame on the door of the administration. No official, without the explicit sanction of the higher-ups, can turn a blind eye to such mass-scale violence and, the higher-ups right upto the home minister and the prime minister were very much in the know of the happenings. I suspect that either Mr. Rao failed to give orders to the Lt. Government of Delhi or that the latter failed to carry out the orders to stem the tide of violence. In such a situation, should not both of them face the music for such criminal neglect of their duties ? When questions like this cropped up, the Lt. Governor went on leave and a new one was posted in his place. The man who became the new Lt. Governor in place of Mr. Gavai is Mr. M.K. Wali. This appointment was even more ironical than the exit of Mr. Gavai.

Just before being posted as the new Lt. Governor, Mr. Wali was, hold your breath, Home Secretary. In other words, everything that happened from October 31 to November 3 was with his knowledge. How could a man who had proved himself as an utter failure while in-charge of internal security at the top most post, be expected to look after the city administration ? Or was he expected to look after the civil administration of Delhi in the aftermath as well as he had looked after the law and order situation in his previous post ? If that is the reason why he was made Lt. Governor by his political masters, he did not disappoint them because his attitude towards the families of the victims, huddled in relief camps was just as kind and considerate as it had been when their men were getting killed and their lives being systematically destroyed in every possible way.

### ***THE ARMY'S ROLE***

Our investigation into the role of the army at all levels leads to the following key questions. Why did it take the government so long to call the army ? Secondly why did the army, which is renowned for its efficiency, fail to contain the situation despite there being curfew in the city ?



All the top officials including, four senior ministers had full information on the goings-on in the city right from the time violence started. This information was formally available to the government through leaders of the opposition and eminent citizens who met its representatives to find out what the government was doing to contain the situation. Even then, the government did not take any step.

A top source in the government revealed that, in any such crisis and this was a crisis more serious than any other in free India's history, there are strict guidelines to deal with it. As per section 130-31 of the criminal procedure code (C.R.P.C.) , even a Superintendent of police (S.P) and the head of the civil administration, the District Commissioner (DC), have the authority to seek the army's help if the law and order situations demands. Besides, the services of the para-military forces are certainly available to the civil authorities.

Look at what the rules say about the circumstances under which the army can be called (under section 130 of the C.R.P.C.):

- (1) If a mob posing a threat to public peace cannot be dispersed through regular means, the District Magistrate can seek the army's intervention to do so.
- (2) The Magistrate has the power to contact the top officers of any of the defence forces and seek their help to his or her district. The Magistrate can also order the arrest of the trouble-makers as also have them booked.
- (3) Every defence services officer in-charge of a situation has the power to tackle it as per his assessment, but with the use of minimum force against any person and without causing unnecessary damage to his or her person or property.

According to section 131 of the CRPC, in case the army officer is unable to make contact with the head of the civil administration about a situation where a crowd is indulging in violence, jeopardising public security and safety, he has the powers to take steps to control the situation including the arrest of those posing a threat. However,



**The victims families burning effigies of Congress Leaders H.K.L. Bhagat, Jagdish Tytler and Sajjan Kumar at a Demonstration in New Delhi**  
Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

wherever possible the army officer will await instructions of the civil in-charge to take any such action and to decide how long he should keep the peace-keeping operation on.

The army was alerted on October 31 itself. This in effect, means that the army could have reached Delhi from the cantonments in Meerut and Agra. According to army sources, the key to the implementation of curfew orders is not the numerical strength of the army personnel but the clarity and resoluteness of the order itself. However, despite announcements of the curfew and shoot-at-sight orders on the official electronic media and the privately owned newspapers, the police, whose job it is to apprise the army about the ground situation, kept the army totally in the dark. There was no central control room from where such information could be made available. On the other hand, a few days later, when Mrs. Gandhi's corpse needed an army escort, 3,000 army men and a 1,000 of the other two forces, navy and air, were suitably present.

It is the simplest procedure which needs to be followed to bring in the army to control a situation. All that the Lt. Governor has to do is to apprise the home minister, who, in turn, should contact the defence minister (Mr. Rajiv Gandhi also had the defence portfolio at that time).

The efficiency of the army's role in safe-guarding internal security depends on a key factor, the establishment of a central and joint control room of the police and the army. In 1947, the then prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru had ordered Governor General Lord Mountbatten to set up such a control room. Some war veterans who met the home minister, Mr. Rao, after Mrs. Gandhi's killing even referred to this as a means of convincing him about the gravity of the situation and the steps he could take to control it. The situation in November 1984, for anybody who cares to recognise it, was as bad as at the time of India's bloody partition in 1947, and yet, neither Mr. Rao nor any member of the government cared to do the most basic thing, the setting up of a joint control. The police commissioner was operating from the police headquarters at ITO, the army area commander from the Dhaula Kaun cantonment and the Lt. Governor

***Former Union Minister Subramanyam Swamy addressing a rally of the carnage affected at Bood Club, Delhi***  
PUBLIC MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

from Raj Niwas. The result was total lack of co-ordination and therefore, the total futility of calling the army. There were curfew orders in the city but nobody cared to implement them. An army Major told a newspaper reporter (The report carried on November 4, 1984) that not only did the police not coordinate with them but also misled the army in some cases. The same reporter found the junior officers of the army twiddling their thumbs in the face of the massacre because they had lost contact with their headquarters and they had no orders to act.

The army's helplessness is also evident from an instance where a Major was using an old guide map to reach one of the worst affected areas in east Delhi. As per rules, personnel from the local police should have been accompanying the army. According to an army source, a strange method was employed to deploy the army. The civil authorities did not give the army full information at any stage and when it got orders to act, the worst had already happened (Maj. Gen. J.S. Janwal's statement in the Indian Express, November 8, 1984). It was only to ensure that Mrs. Gandhi's corpse reaches the cremation ground safely that the defence forces were used to their fullest capacity.

The account of the army's role also proves that the civil administration had no clear plan to contain the situation, that the army was called much too late and, worse still, even after that, it was made to feel redundant. Besides, the police also played a direct role in the killings and arson.

Whatever may have been the motive behind this strange way of treating the army and regardless of who was responsible for rendering it impotent, it can be said with emphasis that the treatment meted out to the army had a very crippling impact on the morale of the defence forces. Our sources in the defence forces, during informal discussions on the subject, condemn the treatment given to the army during those violent days.

According to the sixth report of the National Police Commission, the tendency of district administrators to await orders from the top before acting on any situation is



Top Huriyat Conference Leaders of Jammu Kashmir Mirwise, Yaseen Malik & Gilani with Mr. Babbar met the Nov. 84 Carnage victim in widows Colony Delhi



reprehensible . " Take serious note of this tendency," said the report. It is evident from the events of the first week of November 1984 that the administration, despite having all the powers to deal with the situation either did not use them or, worse still, was intentionally ignoring its duty. It is the same civil administration which is opposed to the intervention of the army for controlling Hindu-Muslim riots and insurgency in the north eastern states of India.

All these questions need to be examined, because the civil authorities at all levels displayed a uniform and criminal disregard for its role, which it is obliged to perform as per the constitution. Fourteen years later, the authorities are still resistant to the idea of acting against any one of the officials for dereliction of duty at that time. We need to ask vital questions of the government and we must compel it to answer them. Is there anybody to tell us why the Lt. Governor did not ask the home minister for the army's help ? Or, what were the prime minister and the home minister doing at that time ? Or, can the government wash its hands off the entire tragedy by simply removing the Lt. Governor and the police chief Subhash Tondon ?

A group of eminent citizens was approached by the families of the victims seeking the army's help (they had seen the police role and were convinced that the police was siding with the killers) in Trilokpuri. The group made several attempts to contact the home minister and the home secretary but neither of them was available, not at home, not at the office. In the belief that the opposition leaders may have easier access to the home minister and senior officials of his ministry, the group met with some of them, including, Mssrs George Fernandes, Chandra Shekhar, Biju Patnaik and Madhu Dandavate but they all reported the same story, their inability to contact the minister or his officials. Finally, Mr. Dandavate is reported to have caught up with Mr Arun Nehru at the residence of the prime minister and communicated to him the request made by the Sikh families of Trilokpuri. Mr Nehru, who was just an MP told Mr. Dandavate that he would send a wireless message to alert the army. The army was called but it is significant to find out whether all it needed was a wireless message from Mr Nehru to

## STATESMAN



ANGUISH AND ANGER: Victims of the 1984 riots demanding punishment for those involved in the killings of the Sikhs, outside Supreme Court in the Capital on Friday. — The Statesman.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

call the army and, if he had such powers as a mere MP, why could the home minister not use the powers he had to bring the situation under control ?

### ***THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS (I) PARTY***

The Congress Party leaders, workers and supporters, as is evident from the testimony of hundreds of the victims' families, played the most decisive role in both planning and organising the anti-Sikh violence. And, not just the affected people but also their Hindu neighbours have confirmed the vicious role of the Congress party in the massacre. In Mongolpuri, Ananad Parvat, Prakash Nagar, Gandhi Nagar, Trilokpuri, Munirka, Kidwai Nagar, witness after witness has confirmed the role of the Congress party workers and leaders in the killings. People who have been specifically named as having directed the violence or having participated in it include, Sajjan Kumar, Jagdish Tokas, H K L Bhagat (all ruling party MPS then), Arjun Das Ishwar Singh, Mahendra, Mangatam, Bhairav and Satbir Singh, to name a few prominent ones.

Attempts have been made to project the allegations levelled by the affected people against the Congress party as "politically motivated." The charge does not however hold water because a majority of the Sikh families here were supporters of the Congress party. The shocked Sikh families of Trilokpuri and Mongolpuri, among the worst-affected colonies (set up under the Indira Gandhi Urbanisation Programme as mentioned earlier), could not believe that they had been made the targets of violence following the assassination of a prime minister who commanded their support and loyalty. "These houses were given to us by Indira ji, we always voted for her party. Why were we attacked?" several people asked us during the survey.

Other indications about the role of the Congress party members mentioned above and in the earlier chapters. include the fact that, many of them tried to use their political clout in order to secure the release of those arrested for the violence.

According to an Indian Express report (November 6, 1984), Congress

# वीर अर्जुन

## प्रताप समूह का प्रकाशन

कृपे २, अंक १३१ शुक्रवार ११ अगस्त १९८९ मूल्य : ५० पैसे

## बख्शर दिल्ली पुलिस की नजर में आतंकवादी?

—नया संवादक—

नई दिल्ली, ११ अगस्त। राजधानी में स्वातंत्रता दिवस व उसके आसपास किसी भी सम्भावित आतंकवादी घटना को सहेन्द्र रखते हुए विभिन्न धानों में आतंकवादियों की विषय व विवरण भेजे गये हैं।

विभिन्न आतंकवादियों की विषय दिल्ली की धानों में भेजे गये हैं, उनमें मुहम्मद सिर, सतनाम सिंह सिरर विभिन्न नाम एक मीलता भी है तथा मोहन सिंह वृत्त में उर्फ जलौत सिंह पारीवत शामिल है।

धानों को भेजे गये विषयों में दिल्ली के मिशनरी तथा आतंकवादी मिशनरिज (बम्बू बुद्ध) के सहायक मुहम्मद सिंह बख्शर का भी विषय है। विषय के नीचे उनके पिता का नाम, पता उम्र, ऊँचाई, गहन, रंग व शिक्षा आदि का भी विवरण है।

धारा बख्शर है कि कलाम में वहाँ एक धानी बख्शर में हुए बख्शर विषयों के बाद से दिल्ली में भी बख्शर लागू कर दिया गया है। विषयों अर्थात् विभिन्न रेलवे स्टेशनों, बस अड्डों तथा भीड़-भाड़ वाले स्थानों पर बख्शर नजर रखी जा रही है।

इस संबंध में जब इस संवाददाता ने अतिरिक्त आयुक्त की डी.एन. सिंह से बख्शर पर जलौतरी लेनी पायी तो उनका कहना था कि वे लोग बख्शर के लिए इस प्रकार के विषय नहीं जारी करते और इस बारे में कुछ भी जानकारी देने से इंकार कर दिया।

दुसरों और जिस धाने के इस



संवाददाता को यह विषय मिला है वहाँ के एक पुलिस अधिकारी ने कहा कि सुपरान सिंह बख्शर की तलाश है।

बाद में जब इस संवाददाता ने की बख्शर के वहाँ फोन किया तो वे पर पर ही मिल गये और उन्होंने इस प्रकार की किसी सूचना की जानकारी होने से इंकार कर दिया।

उन्होंने कहा कि वे काफी बख्शर से लगभग ८४ के बख्शर के हाथों के बख्शर आवाज उठाते हैं। वंशक में बख्शरों की बख्शर, बख्शर को बख्शर व बख्शर-बख्शर वे आवाज पैदा करने वाली के बख्शर बख्शर रहे हैं।

उन्होंने कहा कि पिछले दिनों आतंकवादियों की और से बख्शर मारे जाने की धमकियाँ भी मिल चुकी हैं। जिसके बाद वे एक विषय बख्शर के साथ पुलिस आयुक्त से मिले थे।

उन्होंने आरोप लगाया कि पुलिस

आयुक्त ने उन पर आरोप लगाया था कि वे लोग बख्शर पैदा कर रहे हैं। जिसके बाद उन्होंने इस संबंध में उच्चतम न्यायालय के मुख्य न्यायाधीश व राजनैतिक नेताओं को पत्र पत्र भी भेजे थे।

उनका कहना है कि वे देश की एकता अखंडता के लिए सख्शर हैं जिसके लिए यदि उन्हें बख्शर भी मिले तो वे बख्शर को लेवत हैं।

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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M.P. Dharam Das Shastry went to lodge a complaint in the Karol Bagh police station against some cops for "misbehaving" with his party supporters, with whom the police had found some of the loot taken away during the violence. At the same time H K L Bhagat was trying to secure the release of some of his supporters at the Gandhi Nagar police station.

According to a top source in the police, some of Congress party members were told by the police to help it raid the houses of people known to them to recover the loot as a quid-pro-quo for the release of their workers arrested on charges of violence. Besides, they will have to stand as witnesses, they were told. At this, the Congress member chickened out and gave up trying to free their workers from judicial custody.

There are examples galore of how even the Sikhs loyal to Congress were not spared. Sikh Congress MP Charanjeet Singh's soft drink factory was burnt down, costing him a loss of one crore. Mr Singh later said that he had contacted the Lt. Governor and the Police Chief several times to seek their help but no help was given to him.

Sajjan Kumar has alleged a political design behind the naming of his party men in the testimonies of witnesses and also accused the RSS of being involved in the violence. But, he has not been able to point an accusing finger at any one of the RSS members.

There are also reports that some senior Congress members and officials gave instructions to the police to deal softly with those arrested after November 3 for their involvement in the violence.

The police is even reported to have announced amnesty for those who would surrender the property looted from Sikhs. No action would be taken against such people, they were told, in what must be a unique way of handling criminals. The police have not denied making such an offer to the criminals and in the absence of a denial, it





Demonstrating by the widows outside Rashtrapati Bhawan Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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can be presumed that some influential people had planned this unique scheme to suit their vested interests.

Another pointer to the role of the Congress party in the carnage is evident from the fact that none of the leaders, neither those alleged to have engineered the violence nor any other, has expressed the confidence to face a court of inquiry into the allegations levelled against them. The best way for them to clear their names, if the charges are as false as they claim, is to face a judicial enquiry. When a delegation led by the former prime minister, Mr Charan Singh met Mr Rajiv Gandhi and drew his attention to the reports in the Indian Express about the Congress MPs trying to get their supporters released from custody, Mr Gandhi's answer was, "just as National Herald daily belongs to the Congress party, the Express is the Opposition's newspaper" implying, thereby, that the report need not be taken seriously. It was only the following day that the Congress spokesman denied the report.

Regardless of what appeared in the newspapers, it would be naive to presume that Mr Gandhi, who had been general secretary of his party since 1982, was not aware of what his partymen could be doing during the five days of anti-Sikh violence. Mr Gandhi was even instrumental in training party workers at various camps held for the purpose during his tenure as the party's general secretary. What kind of political training did he give them that the Congress workers turned out to be so thirsty for the blood of Sikhs?

### ***THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA AND THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION PARTIES***

On the day of assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, the Indian newspapers said that she had been shot by three Sikh security guards, one of whom was a cut Sikh. (this is a popular way of describing Sikhs who do not wear long hair or turban). The newspapers

*Demanding the arrest of Congress Leaders HKL Bhagat, Jagdish Tytler and Sajjan Kumar: Families of victims*



Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

did not say whether this information had been provided by official or unofficial sources. Nor was it clear how the reports surmised that even the cut Sikh was indeed a Sikh. The next day, however, he was not mentioned in the reports. The moot question here is, should the newspapers have identified the assassins by their religion? Had the killers been Hindus, would the media have used the same criterion, that is religion, to describe them? Whether deliberately or inadvertently (even inadvertent biases of this kind are not to be forgiven), the media played a role in generating hostility against the Sikhs as community. In doing so, the media violated the guidelines set by the Press Institute of India (PIA) 1970 report. The guidelines underline that in a situation with the potential of communal conflict, it is advisable to tread cautiously in news reporting.

Besides, Doordarshan's repeated focus on the mobs crying for revenge in its film footage on the assassination definitely gave encouragement to the violence that followed. Some newspapers, instead of reporting the sincere efforts being made by some sensitive and concerned citizens against the violence through peace marches, were merely highlighting the names of the political leaders participating in these processions. For instance, a peace procession in which Janata Party leader Chandrashekhar participated was dubbed as his party's demonstration with the result that a lot of eminent citizens, who were apolitical, felt offended at being aligned with a party rather than with the cause for which they were fighting. Such reports also deterred genuine sympathisers from participating in programmes aimed at restoring peace.

The role of the political Opposition also calls for a special mention. Although all the major political parties were getting reports about the large-scale and vicious killings, none of them could organise any mass protest against it, neither to prevent the violence nor to control it. This is the minimum basic that the cadre-based left parties and the BJP could have done. Their role however, was limited to making a joint appeal to the prime minister to restore peace.

On November 3, a group of eminent citizens requested that



DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE  
(BABBAR)



Mr. Chandrashekhar to accompany them to meet the prime minister but he refused to do so saying, it would be “inappropriate” and “ill-timed.”

### ***THE ROLE OF THE COMMON MAN***

The anti-Sikh violence in the aftermath of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination was definitely the result of a well-planned conspiracy which had the active participation of members of the ruling party, the government, the administration and the police force. However the role of the common man also calls for a close study.

The violence cannot be entirely dissociated from the general animus against the Sikh community as a result of the systematic anti-Sikh propaganda about the political turmoil in Punjab in the preceding three years, which saw the rise of Sikh militant leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwala and the demolition of the Akal Takht in an army operation ordered by Mrs. Gandhi (Operation Bluestar in June 1984).

The central government, by ignoring the genuine demands of Punjab political leaders gave a fillip to Sikh militancy and, Hindu communalism as reaction to it. By attacking the Akal Takht, the centre also isolated a very strong section of the Sikh political and religious leadership which only gave rise to further communalism. By the time of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, it was apparent that the mass Hindu psyche had reached a stage where it could condone the anti-Sikh violence in the name of ‘national interest’.

The violence was the result of the official policy to "teach the Sikhs of Punjab a Lesson" and, policies like this are not something for which one can furnish hard facts as proof. However, proof is manifest in the mass media and the mass mind. The long reign of militancy in Punjab, against which an ordinary Sikh was as helpless as any other citizen, a fact not often recognised, fuelled mass antipathy towards the community.

Although many Hindu neighbours played a salutary role in saving the lives and property of Sikhs, a majority of the population played an implicit role in the violence. Many survivors complain that their Hindu neighbours watched the violence as though



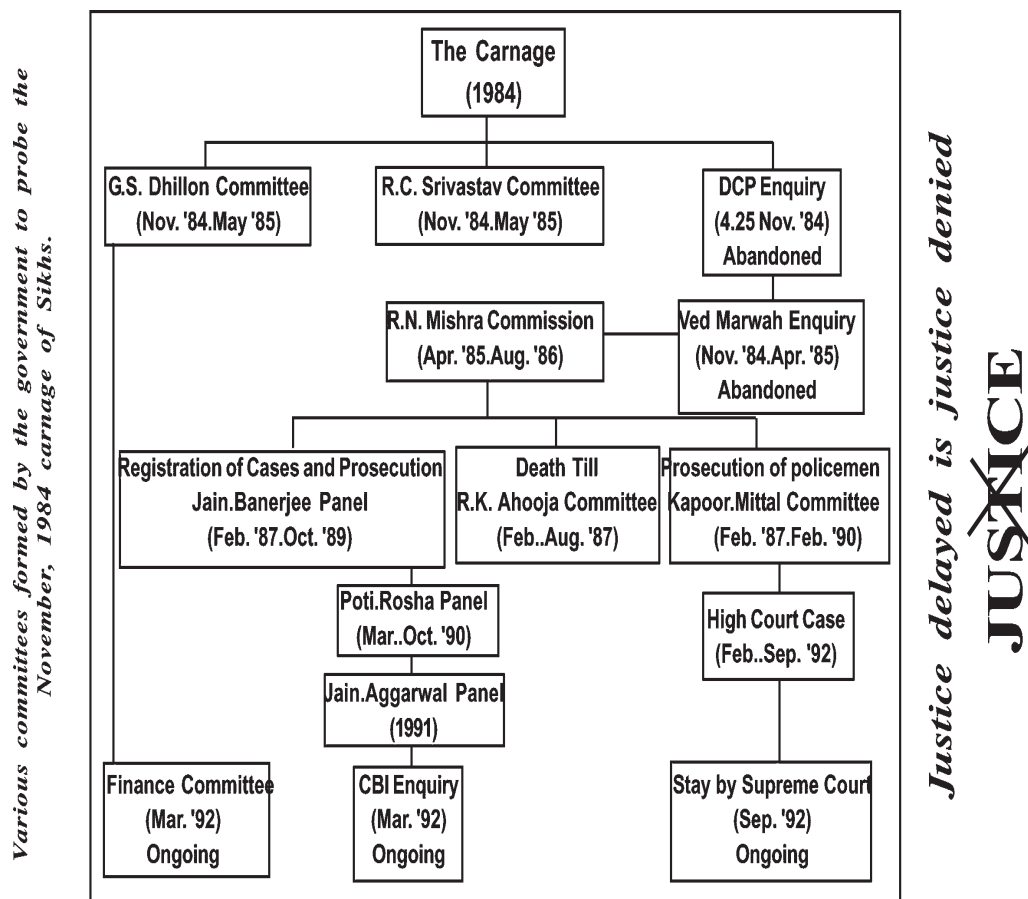
A protest demonstration by the families outside Justice R.N. Mishra's Office after his report clearing the Congress Party of involvement in the Anti-Sikh Violence Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
Organised by Indian Govt.

they were watching a film show. It is this mass psychology of the Hindus which prompted them to believe all the rumours about the Sikh community during the carnage including that train-loads of Hindu dead bodies were arriving from Punjab and that the Sikhs were going to strike back after the first day of violence.

The evidence of vicious communal feelings against Sikhs in the Delhi police force has been given in the preceding paras and chapters.

However, this should not distract us from appreciating the role of Hindus and Muslims who saved Sikhs at a grave risk to their own lives. There are many unsung heroes who do not find a mention in the list of names given at the end of the book but Sikhs owe them a deep gratitude.





Widows weeping for Justice outside Lt. Governor of Delhi residence

Organised by Indian Govt.

## A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS LEADING TO THE MASSACRE

### OCTOBER 31

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| 09.40 a.m. | The killing of Mrs. Indira Gandhi   |
| 10.00 a.m. | All top level officials informed, there is apprehension of violence.  |
| 10.30 a.m. | Meeting at the prime minister's residence to discuss the security aspects, including a proposal for calling the army. Among the participants were Lt. Governor of Delhi<br>P G Gavai Police Commissioner, S C Tondon associate of Mrs. Gandhi's |
| 11.00 a.m. | All India Radio (AIR, the official broadcasting media) announces assassination attempt on Mrs. Gandhi.  |
| 12.00 a.m. | AIR announces that Mrs. Gandhi has been hospitalised.   |
| 01.30 p.m. | Mrs. Gandhi is declared dead.   |
| 02.00 p.m. | The spot items outside various newspapers buildings announce that assassins of Mrs. Gandhi were two Sikhs and a <i>Mona</i> or cut Sikh.  |
| 04.00 p.m. | Violence outside All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), where Mrs. Gandhi has been hospitalised. Armed police watch mutely as Sikhs passing through the area are attacked and their turbans are burnt.                                |



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Former Prime Minister of India Shri V.P. Singh Addressing the public rally organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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06.00 p.m.	AIR announces Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. A little while later Rajiv Gandhi is sworn in as prime minister alongwith three cabinet ministers.
10.00 p.m.	Reports of arson and killings from various parts of Delhi.
11.00 p.m.	A prominent member of parliament informs the Home Minister about the violence but is assured that the “situation is under control.”
Midnight	A meeting of the PMO and Home Ministry officials to take stock of the law and order situation in Delhi.
2.00 a.m	The army is alerted

**NOVEMBER 1**

The streets of Delhi are filled with people throughout the day, with hundreds of them involved in burning, looting and killing and, numerous others trooping to Teen Murti House, the place where Mrs. Gandhi's body was kept.

Eminent citizens and MPs approach Union Home Minister P V Narasimha Rao, Minister of State for Home, P Shiv Shankar, Lt. Governor, PG Gavai and President Giani Zail Singh, seeking the army's intervention to control the violence. Mr. Rao dithers over the suggestion of calling in the army and talks about the need to set up a Joint Control Room Room (JCR) of the police and army personnel. Meanwhile, violence in full-swing at many places in the capital.

02.00 p.m.	The army is called
02.30 p.m.	Mr. Shiv Shankar and Mr. Gavai discuss the situation and the latter says that the imposition of curfew is under consideration
4.00 p.m.	Former primer minister Charan Singh meets the president, apprises him of the seriousness of the situation and seeks the army's intervention.

## INDIAN EXPRESS



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
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- 6.00 p.m. Indefinite curfew declared in the city.
- 6.30 p.m. An MP contacts the Home Minister and informs him about the absence of the army.
- 8.00 p.m. The Prime Minister tells the leaders of the opposition that, not enough army personnel are available in the Capital. Mass killings of Sikhs continue, the army is nowhere to be seen or, when seen, not in action. Delhi's air is thick with rumours that the city's water has been poisoned. Some police stations are involved in spreading such rumours.

**NOVEMBER 2**

Mrs. Gandhi's body still at Teen Murti. Shoot-at-sight orders in Delhi and violence all around. Incoming trains to Delhi cancelled. People continue to flock Teen Murti.

8.30 a.m. An MP informs the home minister over the phone about the security threat the Sikh train travellers and requests for armed Railway Police in trains.

***Note :** No protection was provided to Sikh passengers and 43 of them are reported to have been murdered (November 3, 1984, Time of India).*

1.30 p.m. An MP contacts Mr. Shiv Shankar, who, in turn, tries to contact the Home Minister and Lt. Governor Gavai but to no avail.

Early afternoon, Sultanpuri and Mongolpuri report massive violence. Peace marches in the city by voluntary human rights groups. Mobs prowl the streets armed with iron rods, sticks and improvised weapons of assault right under the nose of the army.

Late afternoon a the Prime Minister appeals for peace with a statement that he would not allow violence to go on.

The violence continues through the night as survivors begin to gather in various police stations. The army fails to take any step to control the situation.



**MR. BABBAR BRIEFING THE PROBLEM OF NOV. 84 RIOT VICTIM & ALSO  
SUBMITTED THE DETAILS MEMORUNDOM**



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

### **NOVEMBER 3**

Curfew relaxation from 9.00 a.m. to 8.00 a.m. Sporadic violence in the city. In the morning, a group of people meet the ruling Congress party and opposition leaders.

The funeral procession of Mrs. Gandhi's begins from Teen Murti at 12.30 p.m. while Sikh survivors begin to gather in Gurudwaras and police stations.

4.00 p.m.                      Mrs. Gandhi's cremation.

11.30                          p.m. Lt. Governor PG Gavai proceeds on leave and the announcement of a new Lt. Governor in his place.

### **NOVEMBER 4**

Curfew in the city. Super Bazaar is looted in West Patel Nagar while reports of violence, including, stabbing of people come in from Shahadra, Badarpur and Anand Parvat. The Union Cabinet is expanded.

50, 000 Sikhs in relief camps, most of them set up by voluntary groups.

### **NOVEMBER 5**

Curfew relaxed from 5.00 p.m. to 11.00 p.m. Shooting incidents in Pusa Mandi and two Sikhs (burnt alive) killed in Nathu Chowk. Utter confusion in most of the relief camps.

### **NOVEMBER 6**

No curfew from 5.00 a.m. to 11.00 p.m joint relief camp, with representatives of government and voluntary bodies, are set up. Their control is handed over from the army to the civil administration. Relief schemes are announced but no formal orders to this effect. Voluntary groups print application forms.

Gyani Harjit Singh addressing the "Riot Victims" rally outside P.M. residence



## EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS

**Mr. Dev Dutt, Journalist** : On October 31 at 4.30 p.m. three to four thousand people stood outside AIIMS. Slogans praising Mrs. Gandhi were being raised. Some people were also shouting revenge but there was no tension in the air. The crowd included many Sikhs. Even if some people knew that Mrs. Gandhi's assassins were Sikhs, there were no signs of fear or panic among the Sikhs in the crowd. I talked to some of them to find out what they felt about the situation but they said they had no reason to suspect or fear Hindus. The Hindu crowd also seemed to have no ill-will towards the Sikhs. In other words it was a normal, mixed gathering.

People were waiting for Mrs. Gandhi's corpse to be brought out of AIIMS and the flow of traffic around the area also seemed normal.

I was standing at the AIIMS square when I saw a group of 30 to 40 people running towards where I was standing. Then the group ran down the road to INA market. They burnt a scooter. This brought the traffic to a halt outside the INA petrol pump. The crowd then changed direction and moved towards Sarojini Nagar. The mob started pulling Sikhs out of buses, misbehaving with them and forcibly removing their turbans. I saw five turbans burning in a row on Ring Road.

There was no police presence in the area, which gave the mob full freedom to do what it liked. Twenty minutes later, some cops came and dispersed the mob.

It is difficult to understand why violence started suddenly on the evening of October 31, 1984. The reaction to the sudden killing of Mrs. Gandhi can be one of the reasons for the violence but the moot questions here are where did the rioters come from and, why were they there?

**Mr. Deepankar Gupta, Assistant Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU)** : I was passing by a Gurudwara close to Priya Cinema hall in Vasant Vihar at about 1 p.m. on November 1. I saw a group of about 60 toughies attacking the



DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

Gurudwara. There were four armed cops around but they did nothing and sauntered off towards the cinema hall. Earlier that day, at about 9.20 a.m. as I was standing at the JNU gate, I heard some young men spreading rumours that a group of Sikhs, armed with sten-guns, is attacking Hindus and a former student of the University Bharat Singh, even said that he had seen at least three dead bodies in the campus. At this, some students and teachers went to verify Bharat Singh's report and asked him to lead them to the place where he had seen the corpses. That was the last anyone saw of Bharat Singh.

Later, sometime before 10.30 a.m., I saw a car belonging to the Haryana State Congress (I) Committee come into the campus. I cannot say whether there were only JNU students in the vehicle but the occupants talked to the students who were going around spreading rumours about Sikhs attacking Hindus. At 10.40 a.m. an Ambassador car with a West Bengal number plate came to the campus. The three men, in the age group of 40 to 50, who alighted from the car told the students and teachers, "Sikhs are attacking Hindus with sten-guns, you all better run for your life "

**Professor Ashwini Ray. Head of Department, Political Science, JNU :** At about 10 a.m. on November 1, I saw a police vehicle with four cops in Bhogal. I came out of my house and saw smoke all around. I heard a big bang (of a tyer burst) first and then I saw the police van coming towards Bhogal. The vehicle moved towards a burning truck. The person who set fire to the truck was sitting at the wheel. Suddenly, he jumped out of the truck which crashed into a road railing about 15 meters from where the police vehicle was standing. The cops, however, seemed unperturbed by what was happening around them and I saw them sipping tea. Surprised, I went over to them and asked them why they were not doing anything to stop the violence. "You mind your own business," they said. The smoke that filled the air was coming from about 80 trucks which had been set afire. After a while, I saw a Texla TV centre go up in flames. The cops were telling the mob to "loot the place fast." Then, I saw an armed mob attacking a group of Sikhs. I tried to contact the police control room but could not. Half an hour later, I saw about 80 Sikhs—old men,

*Widows demonstrating at boat club for justice*



PUBLIC MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

women and children, on the second floor of a corner house trying to jump to safety because a row of houses close to theirs had been burnt. A mob, armed with sticks and rods, was waiting downstairs to get the Sikhs.

**Mr. Swapan Lahiri. Engineer** : On November 1, at 1.30 p.m. I was walking down Raisina Road when I saw a mob of about 50 to 60 people, armed with sticks and rods trying to enter Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee's house but could not because of the police security. The mob let out a volley of abuses against Mr Vajpayee and went towards the taxi stand next to the Press Club of India. The DLY cars standing there were set on fire. When a foreign TV crew tried to take pictures the mob stopped it. I followed the mob and saw it go to the Congress (I) office at Raisina Road, regroup and come out to go towards the Janpath square. The mob smashed the doors and windows of the Communist Party of India (CPI) office on the way. Then, I saw a taxi being stopped by the mob. The driver said he was a Hindu but the mob was not paying attention to him and smashed the vehicle. Just then another vehicle with the Congress (I) party flag stopped at the place and a man got out, gave some instructions to the mob and sped away. The mob then went into the opposite direction and I went my way. The cops I saw on the road just stood around and did nothing to stop the violent mob.

**Sudip Mazumdar. Journalist** : November 5, 1984, 5 p.m. The police commissioner, Mr. S C Tondon was talking to a group of journalists about the situation in the city. In response to a question from a reporter that Congress (I) MPs and other senior party leaders were trying to pressurise the police to release the gangsters arrested in connection with the anti-Sikh violence, Mr. Tondon firmly denied the allegation. Prodded to give a clear answer, Mr. Tondon stated that no member of the Congress or any other party was putting pressure on the police. He had barely finished saying this when Jagdish Tytler, Congress MP from Delhi's Sadar seat, walked into the room along with three other people. "*Tondon saab, kya ho raha hai, aap nee mera kaam abhi tak nahin kiya* (Mr. Tondon, what are you upto, why have you not done what I asked you to?)"

The Commissioner was embarrassed. The journalists started laughing.

*An unprecedented protest demonstration: Widows in the campus of Delhi High Court at midnight (in November 1996*



DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

Mr. Tytler went on shouting at Mr. Tondon at which a reporter asked him to tell Mr Tytler not to disturb the press conference. Mr Tytler snapped at him, “this is more important.” Then the reporter invited Mr Tytler to attend the press conference and face some questions regarding his involvement in the carnage. Mr. Tytler went red in the face but sat there all the same. “you are obstructing the relief work (for the survivors) by keeping my men in custody”, Mr Tytler told the Commissioner. This incident silenced the Commissioner effectively against any further questions about the Congress party's involvement in the violence.

**Rahul Kuldip Bedi, Reporter, Indian Express**

Following is a letter of complaint Mr. Bedi sent to the Lt. Governor of Delhi and the Police Chief, Delhi on November 5, 1984.

Dear Sir,

I am sending a complaint against three top officials of Delhi Police who, because of their criminal dereliction of duty, became instruments of a grotesque and unprecedented massacre in the history of free India.

Dear Sir,

This is with reference to the meeting I had with you in the police Headquarters on November 4. Here is a formal complaint against the following Police officers: S C Jatav, IPS, Additional Police Commissioner Nikhil Kumar and Seva Das, Deputy Police Commissioner. They should be booked for criminal negligence and grave dereliction of duty, because of which 350 people were killed in 30 hours in Trilokpuri. The massacre continued till the evening of November 2. You have already assured an investigation into the matter.

1. On November 2, at 2.00 p.m. I Set out for Trilokpuri alongwith my colleague at the Indian Express, Mr. Joseph Malliakan, after hearing about mass violence in the area. About 500 meters ahead of Block 32 of Trilokpuri, we met with a police officer and constable on a motorbike. They too were heading towards Block 32.

MR. I.K. GUJRAL ADDRESSING A RALLY AT BOAT CLUB

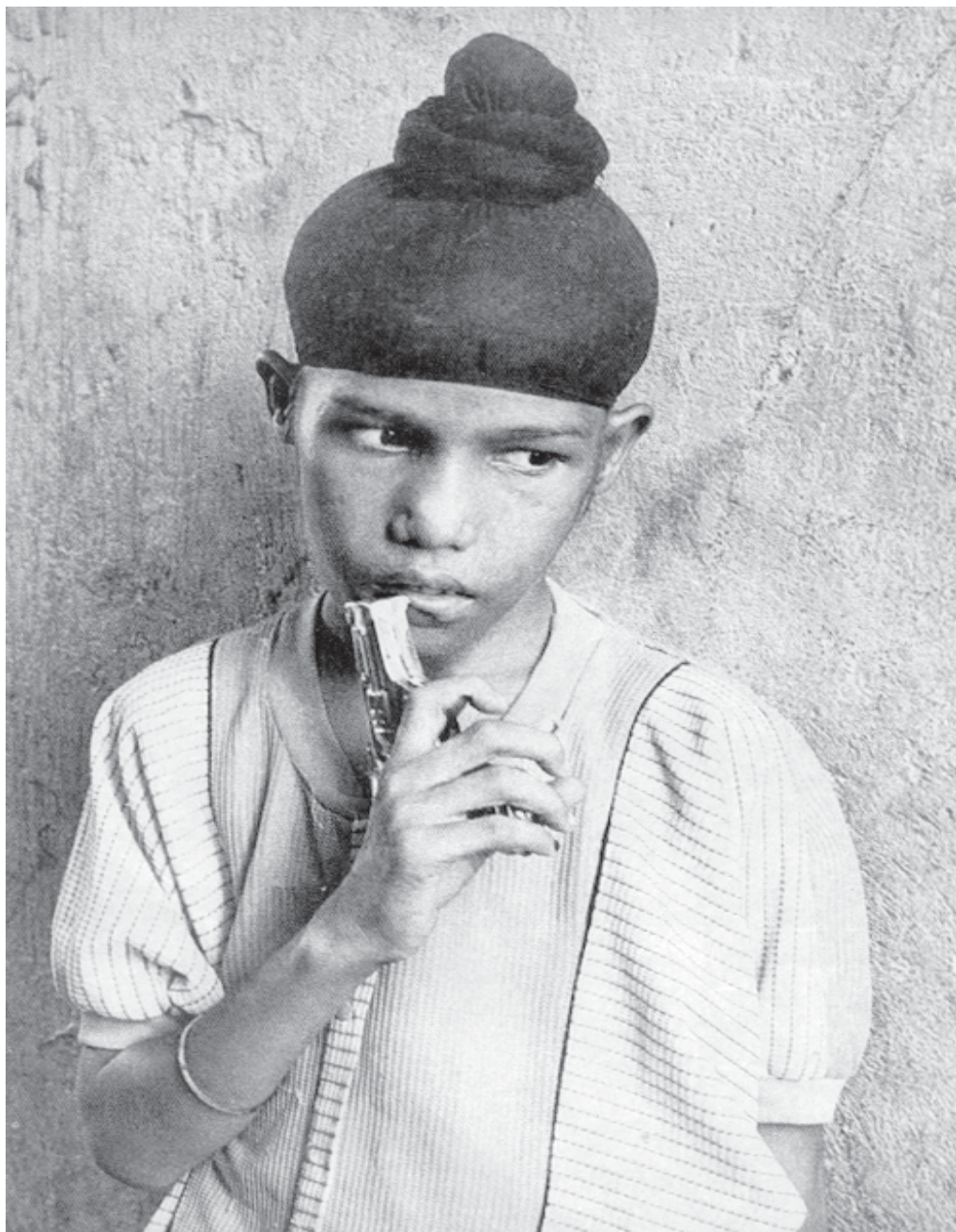




**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

We stopped them and asked them as to what was happening in Block 32. They said, the situation was under control and that only two people had been killed.

2. An angry crowd stopped our vehicle ( a car) as we moved closer to the Block. The crowd stoned our car, told us that nobody would be allowed to go to Block 32 and that if we dared to do so, we would have to face the consequences.
3. We went to Kalyanpuri police station (under which falls Trilokpuri). It was at 3.30 p.m. when we reached there and told a sub-inspector on duty to help us reach Block 32. He quoted the patrol cops as reporting the situation under control. Besides, the station could not spare cops to accompany us, we were told.
4. Then we went to the police headquarters at 5 p.m. We informed Mr. Nikhil Kumar, who was on the phone at his office. He talked to the central control room two floors above his office. Other than this, Mr. Nikhil Kumar gave no assurance about sending the police to the area. He asked the control room to inform the man on duty in the area..
5. We reached Trilokpuri at 6.05 p.m. where we saw SHO Shoorvir Singh alongwith two constables in a matador. The SHO said that he had apprised his senior, especially, DCP Seva Das, over the wireless about the situation. But the DCP failed to turn up on the scene even until 7 p.m.
6. We came back to the police headquarters and were told by Mr. Nikhil Kumar that he had done his duty by informing the central control room and that his job was over with that. Meanwhile, Mr. Jatav, who had been on patrol duty in the area under Kalyanpuri police station (including Trilokpuri), came back to his office and said there was “peace” in the area. He said that his DCP Seva Das had also told him the same thing.



*A boy orphaned during the anti-Sikh violence*



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

7. When we insisted that the situation required immediate steps to control it, Mr. Jatav asked Mr. Nikhil Kumar to explain why he had not informed him about the gravity of the situation while talking to the control room. Mr. Nikhil Kumar had no answer and his refrain was that he had informed the control room.

Mr. Jatav visited the scene of violence 30 hours after we informed the police, precisely, at 7.45 p.m. on November 2. The massacre started at 10 a.m. on November 1.

We hope that you would take appropriate action against these police officers because they are a party to the crimes that led to the bloody killings.

(Mr. Subhas Tondon received this complaint on November 5, 1984.)

**Mr Kamini Jaiswal. Advocate, Supreme court of India** : On November 2, we met Mr. Padam Sharma (who introduced himself as the chief of Delhi State Congress Committee) at the Pandav Nagar Gurudwara. He tried to send us back on the plea that “there was no trouble” around there and that “the situation was under control.” But, we have already been to the Gurudwara the previous day and wanted to meet the people hiding in the Gurudwara. So, we insisted on going there. Inside, we met many people whose families were trapped in Dakshin Nagar across the road. They were pleading with us to reach help to their relatives. We promised to rescue them but the same people who had brought us to the Gurudwara got agitated and stoned our car. The mob also wielded iron sticks at us.

The mob said that we were disturbing the place by trying to guard the Gurudwara and that our interference would not be tolerated. It was Mr Padam Sharma who led this mob. Later, somebody told us that Mr. Sharma did not like other people “treading on his territory.”

*Mr. G.S. Babbar on indefinite hunger strike at India Gate lawns*



# NEWSPAPER REPORTS ABOUT THE VIOLENCE

*Wednesday, October 31, 1984. Official Press Release*

The police has been asked to patrol the city and section 144 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) has been imposed. Three companies of Delhi Armed Police have been asked to patrol the city.

These orders will stand until further notice.

*November 1, 1984 (Indian Express)*

Five police officials, like the rest of the citizens, could get no help from the police. Police was to be seen nowhere in the city. Helpless calls to the police control room number (100) either went unheard or the callers had to make do with a parroted reply, "the police cannot do anything to help in the situation."

*November 2, 1984 (Indian Express)*

The government on wednesday ordered the army and the BSF to take control of the capital but they were nowhere to be seen. Said a duty officers in Nizamuddin police station, "I have been trying to contact the CRPF and BSF every ten minutes over the phone but have been repeatedly told that nothing can be done."

*November 2, 1984 (Indian Express)*

Officials of the home ministry and PMO met here late on wednesday night to discuss ways to stop the spread of violence in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination.

*Union Agriculture Minister Chatrunan Mishra addressing a rally for the cause of the victims families at Boat Club (in 1992)*



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

*November 1, 1984 (Times of India)*

The army was called into the Capital after 60 people died and another 1,000 injured in communal violence followings Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. Barring the New Delhi District, curfew has been imposed in the entire city for an indefinite period. Shoot-at-sight orders were also issued on wednesday evening.

*November 2, 1984 (Indian Express quoting PTI)*

Top officials of the law-enforcing machinery were given no clear directions to deal with the situation and the police remained a mute spectator to the violence.....Although the situation had gone out of control, the Lt. Governor failed to alert the army until wednesday. It took him 24 hours to impose curfew and to call in the army.

*November 4, 1984 (Indian Express, Dev Sagar Singh)*

Local leaders in many areas were warning people over mikes not to drink the water supplied by the Municipal Corporation.

*November 3, 1984 (Statesman)*

Making a mockery of statistics, police Commissioner Subhash Tondon today said (Nov 2) that "15 to 20 people have been killed in the city." Lt. Governor P G Gavai added that the situation is "under control." The army personnel pressed into service following an order on thursday, were just a symbolic presence. Reinforcements were sent in only on friday and saturday until when violence continued unabated.

*November 3 (Indian Express)*

On friday, violence took place on a massive scale in the city, perhaps the bloodiest day in its history. Hundreds were killed. Not even a head-count was available. Entire colonies were wiped out. In east Delhi alone, 500 people were killed. In this senseless massacre, east Delhi was the worst affected, almost dyed in blood. There were 200 corpses in the





*Widows demonstrating for justice outside the Supreme Court of India*

DHARNA ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

mortuary attached to the Tis Hazari police station alone.

There were 350 corpses in a single street of Trilokpuri. A couple of army officers were spotted at the place but they had no control over the all-out violence nor orders to shoot.

*November 3, 1984 (Indian Express)*

The police condemned the role of political leaders. A spokesman alleged that when the police tried to stop the violence, they were snubbed by Metropolitan Councillors who were egging on the mobs to violence. Police officials had no clue as to what Mr. Kamal Nath was doing in Rakabganj. Besides, the police said that it had no clear orders to deal with the situation. According to a source, "the top police officials just inquired repeatedly about the situation over wireless but not once did they advise any steps to control the situation."

*November 3, 1984 (Statesman)*

Curfew imposed on November 1, has been relaxed in five out of the six districts of Delhi. The fresh order will see curfew relaxation from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m.

*November 4, 1984 (Times of India)*

Most parts of Delhi had the army to take care of law and order but it became fully operational only when 3,000 army personnel, reserved as an escort force for Mrs. Gandhi's funeral procession, were put on security duty in the city.

*November 4, 1984 (Telegraph)*

Executive Magistrates have been given powers to give shoot-at-sight orders, if necessary.

*November 4, 1984 (Economic Times)*

Police Commissioner S C Tondon has ordered an enquiry into the violence in Mongolpuri, where a large number of people were killed. A Deputy Police

*Former prime minister V.P. Singh with the widows of November, 1984 at his residence*  
MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

Commissioner (DPC) will head the enquiry and, according to Mr Tondon, the survivors allegation about violence here having been organised and pre-planned would also be investigated.

*November 4, 1984 (Times of India)*

Armed mobs were prowling the streets of Mongolpuri. The Statesman correspondent saw people carrying a dead child. On the pavement of the main road to the colony, a dead body was burning. Although one end of the colony has the Delhi Police on duty apparently, nobody dared enter the colony. The Correspondent saw smoke billowing out of a shop being burnt and looted in Bhogal on Saturday evening but the police and the army personnel denied that there was any trouble in the area.

Representatives of both the communities in Bhogal said that they had never faced any communal trouble before and believe that the killer mobs included people from the neighbouring areas. It is learnt that two junior police officials prompted the mob to violence.

*November 5 (Economic Times quoting PTI)*

In his first press briefing after taking over as Lt. Governor, Mr. Wali said, “no step would be too harsh to stop the violence”. He said, 1809 people had been arrested in connection with the violence.

*November 5 (Economic Times)*

Mr. Wali said that 20,000 people have been given shelter in five relief camps and the government would provide them with free food and medicines.

*November 5 (Time of India)*

The Central District (Delhi) police have arrested 300 people suspected to be in possession of the loot during the violence but local leaders of the Congress (I) went to the police station to protest against this. Mr. Dharam Das Shastri said, “the police is free to recover the loot but it has no right to arrest them because they are not criminals.

*Mr. I.K. Gujral with Mr. G.S. Babbar outside parliament house*



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

*November 6 (Indian Express)*

Seven relief camps in trans-Yamuna were filled with 25,000 Sikhs on Monday morning. The administration has yet to set up any relief camp and the ones already established are being run by voluntary organisations.

*November 6 (Indian Express)*

A total of 2517 people have been arrested but Mr. Wali could not tell how many of them have been released on bail. However, he said, that in some cases every citizen has the right to parole. He denied that he was under political pressure to recover the loot during the violence.

*November 7 (Statesman)*

At a press conference, Mr. Wali said that the government has drawn a rehabilitation plan for the victims families although the monetary compensation being given is only a token. He added, however, that even with this token money the survivors could build new houses because most of the damaged houses are in the urban rehabilitation colonies.

*November 7 (Indian Express)*

Several police officials say that relief work is being hampered by political interference. A Congress MP intruded into the press conference of the Police Chief and shouted at him, "you will do as I say."

*November 7 (Statesman)*

There was no sign of any relief work being carried out by the administration until late on Tuesday night in the Tilak Nagar Gurudwara. A thousand people have taken shelter here from Uttam Nagar, Nangloi, Najafgarh, Govindpuri and Mongolpuri. The sanitary facilities here are as bad as in the rest of the camps.



*A Janata Dal leader and human rights activist giving juice to Mr. G.S. Babbar at the end of his fast at Boat Club*



Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## WHY AND HOW THE INNOCENT WERE MASSACRED

Just try remembering this. The pain you feel when a drop of hot oil from a cooking pan falls on you. Just a tiny drop. Remember your pain and then, theirs. Sikhs, who were burnt alive. Now imagine the following scene. The half-burnt victims are begging for mercy. Crying and writhing in pain. And a group of human beings around them is responding to their cries with loud cheer, savage and Satanic dance of joy. Most of us cannot even imagine such a situation in a civilized world. But, in the first week of November, 1984, violent mobs in Delhi, by dancing over the bodies of thousands of Sikhs as they were being devoured alive by fire, not only set new standards of violence but also a new bench-mark for our collective capacity to tolerate human savagery. For five long days, death danced in the streets of the Indian Capital and many other cities. It moved nobody. It seems that there were no human beings in this vast nation for five long days— not those who were killing, not those who were being killed, not those who were watching it all. Everybody had transformed into some weird in-human entity that does not feel, know, see or hear any pain. Numb in mind and body. Frozen flesh and blood.

Why did it happen? Was it our latent cruelty and violence waiting to be aroused? Did a dormant demonic force suddenly come to the fore? Could anybody ever have imagined the strong currents of hatred against the Sikh community in India until that

*A group of widows at a rally for justice*



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

November? Could such savagery go on and on for five long days right under the nose of the Indian government? Where did our great traditions of secularism, non-violence, tolerance and compassion vanish during those death-filled days? The more we reflect over these questions, the more we shall be serving ourselves as evolved humans and, thereby, the society in which we live. Forgetting those days and the numerous questions that stare us in the face like stars in the nights sky, would deaden us further. To forget those events would be to prepare ourselves for more of the same. Because, “those who forget their history are condemned to repeat it.”

What happened in November, 1984, was not riots. It was a massacre. Of Sikhs. To call it the massacre of innocents would be to justify violence against the guilty. No human being, innocent or guilty, deserves violence.

Every communal riot has a plan preceding it which, perhaps, is the only common factor between the numerous communal riots in India and the massacre of thousands of Sikhs in November, 1984. *The genocide was planned and organised, better than any in the history of pre or post-partition India. Rumours were systematically spread. Criminal gangs were waiting in the wings. Congress (I) leaders were ready with their plot. Communal elements were just waiting for a signal from them. The conspirators and executors of the mass violence included members of the ruling party, the police and the administration.*

*The violence was absolutely one-sided. The attacks were a total surprise. The victims had no clue to the fate that awaited them. They had nothing to defend themselves with. The killers came prepared. With improvised weapons. Traditional weapons, had they been used, would have been a mercy.*



*Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar & Justice R.S. Narula presenting an award to  
Mr. Gobind Mukhoty a human rights activist*





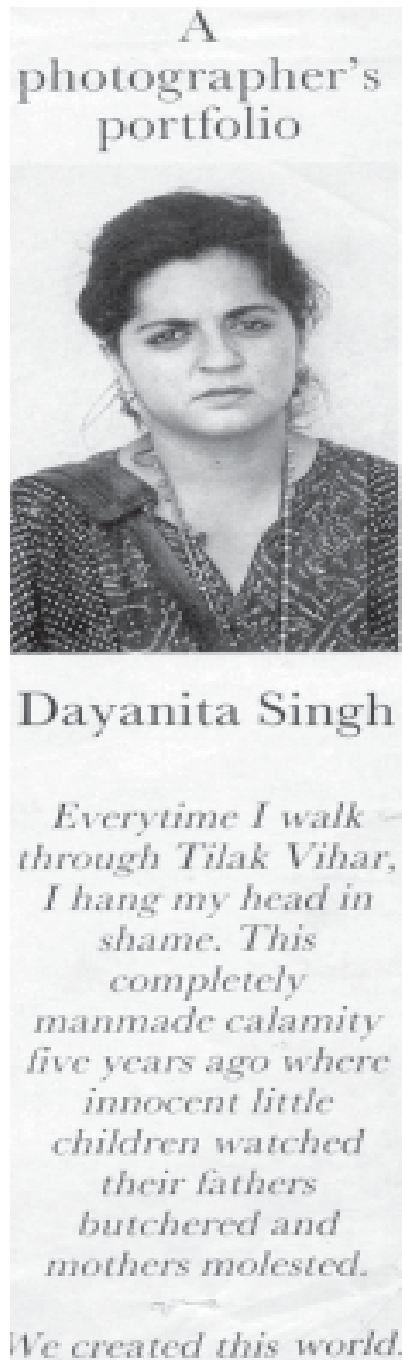
**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

The police, the bureaucracy and the government did nothing. For five long days, they just watched. Some ordinary folk did more to help the situation than them. So, what conclusions can we draw from all these factors? There is only one one reasonable conclusion that we are allowed. The massacre of Sikhs was pre-planned and members of the government, right from the very top to the bottom, were involved in it..

The political angle to the massacre is nearly as pronounced as the communal angle. Sikhs had to be “taught a lesson” for the assassination of a Congress leader and prime minister. Similar lessons had been taught to many who dared raise their voice against Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorial methods in Assam and the entire north-east region. But, nowhere was the ruling party directly involved in the job of “teaching a lesson” to socio-political delinquents.

The anti-Sikh violence was different. The ruling party took it upon itself to teach the Sikhs a lesson. The events of November, 1984 have, in fact, opened a new chapter (even political illiterates can read it ) which shows the stranglehold of criminal and communal forces on the government, the administration and the police.

The Congress party, in the post-Nehru period, has had no qualms about inciting communal violence to suit its political interests. But, in November, 1984 the party beat all its previous records. In the face of its vicious role in the Sikh killings, is it not outrageous that the Congress party should be going to town about its “secular” character ? It can be argued that the BJP, the Akali Dal and the Indian Union Muslims League are communal parties because they garner votes in the name of religion but the Congress, without doubt, is the deadliest face of communalism in India.



***A Dayanita Singh: A tireless photographer, who has done a tremendous job of capturing the tragedy on camera***

# **KANPUR RIOTS**

## **(A FIRST PERSON ACCOUNT)**

### **NOVEMBER 8**

A group of artistes in Lucknow are taking out a procession of peace marchers for communal harmony. One of the organisers of the march has been worrying since yesterday. His anxiety is to ensure that AIR and Doordarshan give good coverage to the procession . The organisers are personally very perturbed over the events of the past few days. The first blood was drawn by Sikhs they say. Who asked them to distribute sweets?

Despite such thoughts, they are marching for peace and communal harmony.

### **NOVEMBER 7**

Sikhs distributed sweets at Mrs. Gandhi's killing. I have been hearing such talk and am looking for an eye witness to vouch for such incidents. I mention this to Kunwar Narayan. He knows somebody who saw Sikhs celebrating and is expected to come to his house today.

Luckily, I do not have to wait long for him. We are introduced. I start asking him questions. The secret is soon out. He is an eye-witness who heard the story from his uncle. I met many such eye-witnesses.

This was the rumour that even the most neutral and thinking people believed. This was the rumour that led the mobs to burn Sikh infants alive.



Widows addressing Press Conference outside Supreme Court of India.  
.organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

### **OCTOBER 31**

Prof. Satyamurthi was to attend a rehearsal of a play directed by him. But the news of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination had already come. So, to spare the actors the inconvenience of coming out he postponed the rehearsal to November 4. Prof Satyamurthi must have intuitively known about the violence that followed

Rakesh Verma, a singing artiste, employed in the Life Insurance company (LIC) whose office is on Kanpur's Mall Road told me that at 2.30 p.m. he saw a group of people pounce on a Sikh, about to alight his two-wheeler. The middle aged Sikh was badly beaten up right under the gaze of two armed cops. Meanwhile, a police vehicle reached the spot and a gun-wielding cop ran towards the mob. He rescued the Sikh and sent him home alongwith an armed policeman.

There were three more Sikhs in the LIC office. Some people suggested that they cut their hair but somebody requested the police to come and the three were escorted back home. Perhaps, they survived. By the time the offices closed, Mr. Verma saw a mob of 150 to 200 *goondas* and political workers passing through the market, raising slogans.

### **NOVEMBER 1**

The morning air is thick with rumours. Prof Satyamurthi's colleagues at the college, his driver and a domestic help, all have different stories to tell. But all the tales focus on how the Sikhs have been murdering people at various places.

At 10 a.m. I come out to get a packet of cigarettes. There is an eerie silence as I get out of the house. But soon the Silence is broken. At the street corner is a group of people, professional hangers-on. The signboard of an electric goods shop has been smashed but the locks are still intact. On the platform outside the shop, two cops are relaxing. Bang opposite them is the shop of a Sikh photographer. The windows and door of that shop have been smashed.



*Families of victims demonstrating outside Parliament house*



Just then, a group of young men passes by each of them holding boxes of new shoes, looted from a shop. The young men are excited about the loot.

One of the cops outside the electric goods shop gets 'tough' and, wielding his stick at one guy tells him to surrender the shoes. The young man places two pairs before the cop. The cop tries them both but neither fits his feet. He sends him away, abusing him lightly and yells at another to show him what he has got.

Of course, these young men and the cops are mourning the death of Mrs. Gandhi.

I turn to the left of the street. There is no cigarette shop there but cigarette packets are available at a premium. At double the normal price. I decide to go to Vijay's house for tea. On the way, another brush with violence. A bonfire right in the middle of the road. Closeby, a mob is trying to break through an iron gate. Vijay's wife says that a wood godown had been set afire by the mob. The neighbours doused the fire, not to save the godown but their own shops. Outside, I see the mob, which was earlier trying to break into the godown, move towards the other side and jump inside from a half broken wall. One man walks out with a saw and wood cutting blade. Another comes out with a couple of small woodlogs. The logs are too heavy to carry. So, he drops them, drags them towards his bicycle, ties them up to the back seat and cycles away with the ease of a shopper.

The rest of the crowd is busy trying to make sure that nothing remains unburnt in what they have dragged out of the godown to make a bon-fire in the middle of the road.

Barely 150 yards away from the spot is a police post. Not one, but two. There are several cops there but absolutely relaxed.

Bang opposite the police post is the office of AIR. Reporters inside are extremely busy, trying to contact the official spokesman about the situation in the city. Besides,

*Mr. Babbar accompanying the widows to former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's residence in 1985*



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

they know their first responsibility. To carry government announcements in their bulletins in this hour of national crisis following Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. The administration does not need them. Not yet. Not until after the killers have had their fill of violence.

At 2 p.m. I leave Vijay's house and see the fire lit in the morning. The flames are going higher and higher. The fire died thirty hours later. On its own.

Meanwhile, a police vehicle passes by and announces the imposition of curfew in the city. Nobody takes a second look at a man walking out of the godown with his loot.

I return home. See another fire. The cops are still relaxing outside the electric goods shop. The shop is intact but a car belonging to the shop-owner has been dragged out of the garage and set aflame.

Some others are telling the crowd, "tonight we must burn the photographer's shop."

Doordarshan cameras are still focussed on Teen Murti House. Delhi is burning. Kanpur is burning but that is not news for Doordarshan. News, as it sees, is all in Teen Murti house.

The neighbourhood of Prof. Satyamurti's house is full of talk, venomous talk against the Sikhs. "Each one of them is guilty". "Each one of them is happy at the assassination." A boy comes to his house and says he saw Sikhs distributing sweets. "Did you see it?" I ask. "Everybody has seen it," the boy answers.

"Don't tell me about everybody, tell me, If you have seen it," I persist.

"No, but a man I know told me so," replies the boy.

At night I go to the terrace. The whole city seems aflame. I can barely see the sky.



WIDOWS CRYING FOR JUSTICE



## **NOVEMBER 2**

The street is noisy early morning. I am on the terrace. The same young men, who were agitated about Sikhs celebrating the killing of Mrs. Gandhi the previous day, are playing cricket. The sun is getting high. There is curfew in the city and there are reports of the army having come to control the situation.

The violence continues despite the army. People are standing in groups everywhere. The photographer's shop is being looted merrily. A policeman on the scene is telling the crowd not to indulge in violence.

"You return us our Indira Gandhi, we will stop looting the shop," comes a voice from the crowd. The cop is silenced by the reply and goes back to where he was sitting. After a while, the crowd of young men leaves the place, wailing with joy. Some mourning this.

Vegetables are beautifully arranged in a basket by a seller. One guy has opened his shop just enough for cigarettes and tobacco to change hands with those desperate for them. He is still giving Mainpuri Tobacco at the regular price, one rupee, that is. Down the road in a square, parts of a nearby building set aflame are burning. The building's ground floor had a sweets shop belonging to a Sikh. The shop is suitably emptied before being burnt down. The crowd is mourning Mrs. Gandhi's killing.

Further on, there is a bigger and more festive crowd on the wide road. Full of people. The door of the liquor shop has been smashed and bottles are now available outside the shop. Beer, Rum all for a flat price of eight rupees. You can even drink standing right there. Nobody will check you.

Suddenly, there is a commotion in the crowd which has been diligently stoning a house. We all step back. But this is the softest part of the violence

I should have not have built such a long story around what I wanted to say. Perhaps, what I want to describe is beyond the boundaries of language. Any language. Let me say it





Nov. 84 Carnage Widows presenting memorundom to Lok Sabha Speeker for Justice

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

straight and simple. Have you ever seen a man burning alive ?

The Sikh has been battered. He looks like moving pulp lying on the ground. Soaked in blood. He is not crying. He is not writhing. Just his hands are trying to hold on to something in the air. The crowd moves back, yelling with joy. It leaves him alone for a while . Two young men have balloons filled with petrol. They throw the balloons on another Sikh. The balloons burst after hitting the Sikh's head. Then, the crowd throws a match. The man slips as he tries to run, the road having turned into thin ice under his feet. Now he is burning alive.

In Kanpur, this skilled, fool-proof way of burning Sikhs was uniformly employed.

In the evening, journalists from a local newspaper come. They are very upset with the Sikh community. They have brought a “true story”. The Sikh who was burnt had shot at the crowd from the terrace of his house. He was at fault. The crowd which converged on his house to loot and burn was right.

In the street of mourners, a voice from the group playing cricket , yells, “switch on the TV”.

I hear that the mob put a burning chemical in the rectum of buffaloes belonging to a Sikh milk-seller. He lived a street behind us. Isn't there a limit to mourning !

Another incident. There was shooting from inside a Gurudwara. So, it was burnt. But, what was crowd doing outside the Gurudwara?

The night is even more horrific. A group of the army walked through the street. It showed its presence for six minutes. There is total silence in the street. It will stay silent for the next six hours. At this hour, people have even stopped peeping from their windows and balconies.

Until late in the night I get no sleep. When it comes, it brings along horrible images. Past midnight, I hear a cry. The cry becomes louder. Lots of people are gathered.

# INDIAN EXPRESS

2 METRO

## My life under threat: Darshan Kaur

Riot widow who identified Bhagat lashes out at Delhi Police

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, NOV 22

**"M**y life is under threat. I cannot go out to work, nor can my children go to their schools," says Darshan Kaur who on December 15 identified the former Delhi Congress supremo H.K.L. Bhagat as the man who had kidnapped the riots into killing her husband in the 1984 riots.

Even as she made this statement, she broke down, stating the molesters were starting a press conference covered this afternoon by the All India Shramik Akademi (Bharat).

"There is a lot of pressure on me. I have sought security for myself and my family members, but the police for some inexplicable reasons failed to accede to my request," she alleged, with tears welling in her eyes.

Kaur resides in a bungalow at Chandanah West Delhi.

She has three sons, with the oldest 18-year-old. "My third son, who is 13-year-old now, hasn't



1984 Sikh riots widow Darshan Kaur (on the left) and Congress Suprematist Bhagat addressing a press conference at the Press Club of India in the capital on Friday. Express photo by Ashoka Mehra Day

even started walking then," she said.

The press conference was supposed to be addressed by Santarni Bal too, but as the organisers later informed the molesters, she couldn't make it as "she was unwell." Instead, she was represented

the case or how she identified Bhagat in the court. "In killing him, addit to his killing," (whatever I have to say in this regard, I will tell the court), she said.

In fact, from the outset, the organisers appeared reluctant to allow her to speak to the press.

It was their president, Gurnaran Singh Bhakta, who set the ball rolling, but was soon forced by the journalists to allow Darshan Kaur to speak her mind.

She alleged that certain individuals, who had been associated with her till now, were now working hard to give her "negative" and one of them even had made her sign on certain unidentified documents, taking advantage of her lack of education.

In this context, she mentioned the name of the DSG/MC member Luthra.

Demanding that security cover be provided immediately to Kaur and her family, Bhakta later looked out at the Delhi Police for its discretionary attitude.

"If Bhagat, the man accused in the 1984 riot case can be provided with such an security cover, why can't I provide security to the man whose wife is being threatened by the molesters against him?" he wondered.

He alleged that pressure was being exerted on sympathisers and witnesses to the riot cases to force them to withdraw cases and not to appear in the courts.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

They are appealing to us to stay awake. “*jagte raho*,” “*jagte raho*”.

This is a strange cry. Over the loud-speaker. Sikhs are being murdered all around. To be a Sikh and out on the street is an invitation to death. And here is a public announcement system blaring messages. “Sikhs have attacked the Kaka Dev Bus Stop. Everybody, reach Gita Nagar.” Another voice from Gita Nagar, again over the mike. “I cannot contact Sapera; you tell me what to do.” The Kaka Dev voice, “tell everybody to go to their terraces with stones and bricks.”

The best part of these midnight announcements is that a police patrol vehicle is right in Kaka Dev, also listening to the them. Of course, the administration had no clue to the horrific happenings. The District Magistrate of Kanpur, Brijendra Yadav, mute witness to the killings and arson, is the same man under whose administration in Muradabad, terrible communal riots had taken place.

Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's grand-children try to contact the police all day on November 2, but nobody picks up the phone.

### **NOVEMBER 3**

The air has changed somewhat. The police and army have marched through the city.

The mourners want to have their fill of cricket until the next march. A catch brings loud cheer from the crowd. Today is the fourth day they are mourning Mrs. Gandhi's killing.

The killing and arson have stopped and the police has been raiding some houses to recover the loot.

The woman who washes dishes at Prof. Satyamurthi's house has come. She is very agitated. “*Kare koi, bhare koi. Police sub ko pareshan kare hai* (somebody commits a crime and somebody else has to pay for it; the police are harassing us all)”



Mr. Babbar with Nov. 84 Carnage Widows presenting the Memorandum to the Prime Minister of India in January 1985

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

“*arre* you tell me, if you do not have enough food in your house, how can you wear shoes that cost 200 rupees? There is no electric connection in the house and they have a TV and a fridge already”, she is talking about her neighbours.

This is another unwritten rule in our country. A man cannot wear good shoes until he has good clothes and a good house.

The cops will come and take away the fridge and TV that her neighbours have got.

Those who have got the TV and fridge are selling both for 500 rupees each, she informs us.

Sitting indoors, I am bored. Prof. Satyamurti and I decide to go out. His wife tells him not to but he doesn't listen to her.

The news we get today is interesting. A sackful of liquor bottles sold for just a hundred rupees but, even more interesting is the news that the policemen who had gone with food packets for three rupees each to the Cantonment relief camp came back with the packets. The reason. The people in the camp did not have any money to buy food with.

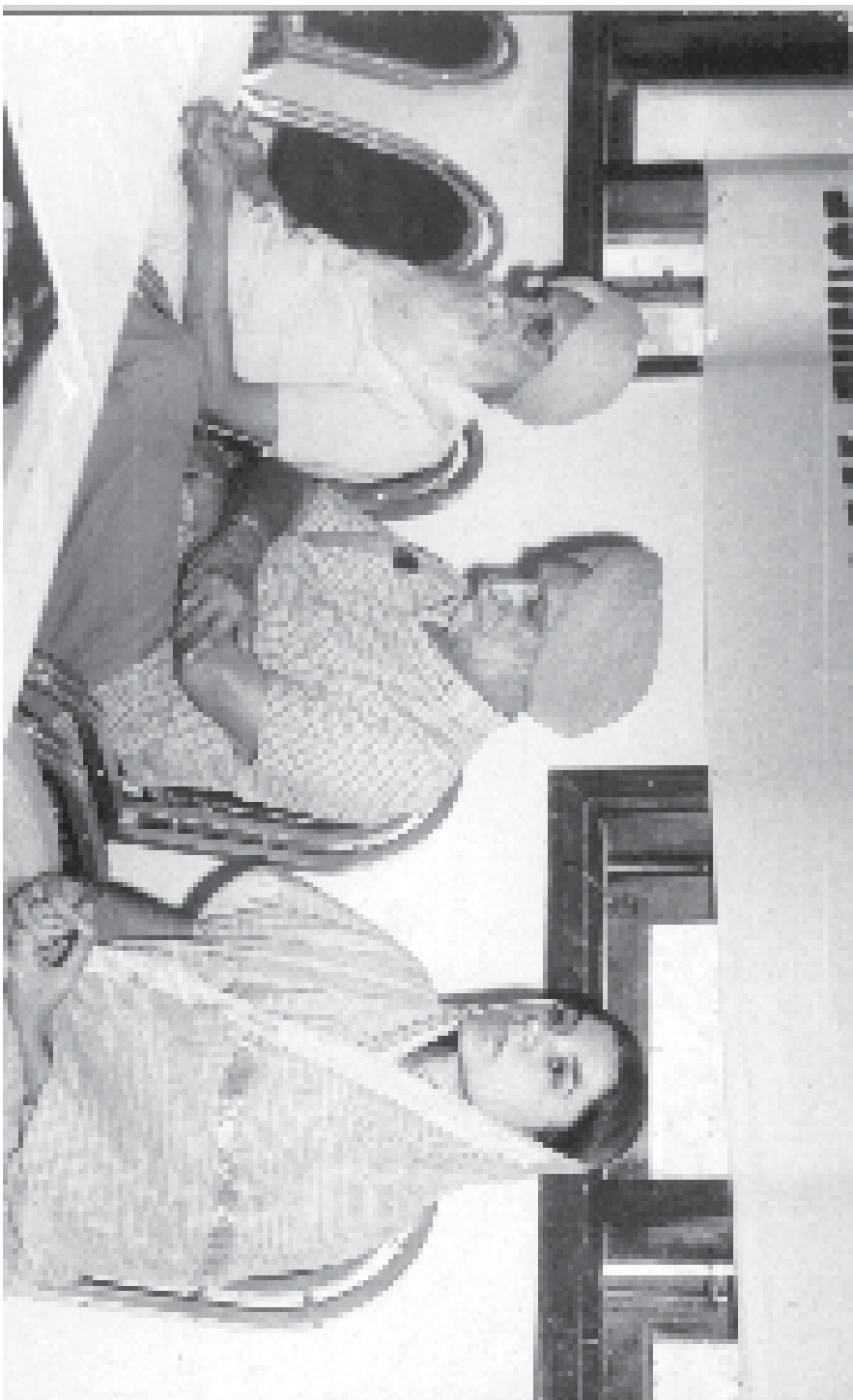
According to official estimates, 50 Sikhs were killed in the violence and goods and property worth 50 lakh rupees looted. Another estimate puts the monetary loss at four crore rupees.

At a deserted spot behind a wall, a group of people is trying to bury some ‘shining’ thing.

A group of under-nutritioned men in khaki, the Home Guard men, are passing that way. Their heads are bent. They can see nothing, not us, not the crowd that is burying ‘something’.



*Former Union Minister Maneka Gandhi's, Lt. Gen. J.S. Arora  
and Justice R.S. Narula at a meeting with the widows*



# **P V NARASIMHA RAO : THE KINGPIN BEHIND THE CONSPIRACY**

Mr. P V Narasimha Rao was among the privileged three who were installed as union ministers in Mr Rajiv Gandhi's cabinet along with him as prime minister. The reason why he was given home ministry, the second most important portfolio in the union cabinet, was his vast political experience, both in party and government affairs. The law and order situation went out of control immediately in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. This is something that was obvious to anyone who passed by AIIMS, where she was taken after being shot. The shape of things to come was clear to anybody who cared to see when Sikhs began to be attacked outside AIIMS on the very evening of her assassination.

Presumably, a mini union cabinet was installed by the prime minister to deal with the aftermath of the killing. Why did Mr Rao not call the army that day itself? Why did he not nip the violence in the bud? It is not as though Mr Rao was unaware of the ground situation. His inaction is criminal enough but to presume that he was ignorant about the violence would be to make a mockery of the very institution of governance.

However, even presuming that Mr. Rao was too busy and removed from the situation on the ground and presuming that the entire law and order machinery under him (the Delhi police is part of it) was also unaware of the goings-on, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee and another eminent member of parliament informed Mr. Rao about the happenings within hours. They expressed their concern about the situation and asked him to act upon it. Mr Rao's reply to all of them was that the “situation is under control”. Of course, the opposition leaders at that time had no clue as to what he



Widows requesting Former Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh for Justice

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

meant by that and it is only later that everybody realized the meaning . The situation was under the control of Congress (I) killers.

Late night on October 31, Mr Rao discussed the law and order scene in the Capital and elsewhere in the country with top officials of his ministry but no step to contain the violence was taken as a follow-up.

On November 1, at 5 p.m. , a senior opposition parliamentarian informed Mr. Rao about the need to call the army. At night, when the whole of Delhi was burning, a delegation of the opposition leaders met him and apprised him about the situation, emphasising the need to call the army. Mr. Rao's response was an assurance that curfew will be imposed and army will be called.

On November 2, some opposition leaders again approached the home minister to provide security to Sikh train passengers because, by then, the reports of anti-Sikh violence in trains passing through Delhi had started coming. Mr Rao did nothing. The result was the butchering of Sikh in trains and on railway platforms.

The same night, when some MPs tried to contact Mr Rao again, he made himself unavailable.

It is evident from all these facts that Mr Rao had no intention to contain the situation. On the other hand, he seems to have deliberately allowed the violence to go on and on, thus becoming the master of ceremonies in the conspiracy to "exterminate Sikhs."

It is Mr. Rao and people like him, in the higher echelons of power, who were responsible for the genocide of Sikhs, right from the planning to the execution state.

Pick up any part of Delhi and any Congress (I) state, the pattern of violence was the same, which unerlines the skill and attention to detail behind it. More than that,



Angry Widows demonstrating front of Parliament for Justice organised by  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

the organisation of such well-timed and large-scale violence could not have been possible without the direct involvement of the political powers that be. Mr Rao was among the few such powerful people at whom one can point an accusing finger without the risk of contradiction. But, he was not alone. He could not have been alone. His misfortune is that he was the visible face of the forces who hatched and executed the anti-Sikh plot.

In the preceding chapters, there are many pointers to the direct and indirect involvement of the political big-wigs. Here are a few more :

The signboards on the Sikh-owned shops and factories were not graphic; they were written, in hindi and english. The mobs who attacked them were not only poor but also unlettered. They were not from the same areas. So, who identified these establishment as targets of violence?

The mobs were led by well-known Congress I leaders and workers. The state-owned, Delhi Transport Corporation ( DTC) buses were used to transport mobs from one place to another. With whose sanction?

The then home secretary, the senior most bureaucrat in the home ministry, Mr. M K Wali, who had just presided over the killings of thousands of Sikhs, was given the responsibility of supervising the relief work, among other duties as Delhi's Lt. Governor replacing Mr P G Gavai. It is difficult to figure out who, between the two of them, was being rewarded, or, was it punishment? There is no way to tell.

On November 2, when the anti-Sikh violence was at its peak, Mr Gavai told journalists that " the situation is under control."

So, from Mr Rao to the home secretary to the Lt. Governor down to the police chief, the response to the unprecedented violence was uniform. If that is not indication enough of the organised way in which the killings were carried out, nothing else could be it.





Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar Author of this Book was on indefinit  
hunger strike in 1987 for justice

# **THE MOTIVE BEHIND THE KILLINGS : “TEACH THE SIKHS A LESSON”**

Mrs. Gandhi had been assassinated. Her son, Rajiv Gandhi, had not yet become prime minister. He had just alighted from an aircraft which brought him from Calcutta to Delhi. At the airport a group of party loyalists was waiting to condole him. Rajiv Gandhi's first words to them were: “Go and grieve in your home towns instead of hanging around in Delhi”.

As prime minister, among the first few lines he spoke at a public rally about the events after the assassination of his mother, was that infamous quote which pierced the heart of every right-thinking and sensitive citizen in the country. "When a great tree falls the earth shakes." For this one remark alone he should have been tried in a court of law, to say the least. The statement was like a fresh assault on the community. It inflicted new wounds which will, perhaps, never heal.

In a press conference, Rajiv Gandhi excelled himself, when he said, the "Sikhs would be the worst losers in an inquiry into the massacre."

These are pointers enough to the fact that Mr. Gandhi was the master-mind behind the anti-Sikh conspiracy. But he was not alone. He had his henchmen, including, H K L Bhagat, Jagdish Tytler, Bhajan Lal (the chief minister of Haryana) and Arun Nehru. It was under Bhajan Lal's supervision that men and weapons were transported from the villages to the city and from the state to Delhi for the anti-Sikh violence.

Look at what the organisers of this massacre did to Sikhs in the police force of Delhi. Sikhs were disarmed and asked to hide like rat either in their homes or their offices while the rest of the police force was asked to "take control of the situation." No force should be used, however, they were told.



Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

### *Riot-hit kids' memo to President*

*Evening News Correspondent*

NEW DELHI, Nov. 4—The November 1984 riot-affected orphans and children, aged between 4 and 12 years, marched from Anand Jyoti to Rashtrapati Bhawan yesterday, but were stopped at the Red Chilli here.

A delegation of five children was permitted to go to Rashtrapati Bhawan where they presented a memorandum demanding dismissal of the Rajiv Gandhi Government for working against national interest with disastrous consequences in total disregard to normal norms.

The children's march was organised by the All India Sikh Conference demanding prosecution of all those involved in the riots and accused the Government of not taking responsibility.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

Of course, like professional criminals, the organisers gave no orders in writing. For once, the entire state machinery worked on spoken orders and directions. What a superb display of efficiency in a country whose red tape is a national bane!.

After they had their fill, the ruling party vultures went around boasting about how they had countered the threat to national unity." But for the Congress, the events in the aftermath of Mrs Gandhi's assassination would have broken the country," croaked many of them.

Many Hindus were harmed, physically and materially, because they had dared to be human and had helped the Sikhs in that tragic hour. Many Sikhs owe their lives to the courage and humanity shown by their Hindu friends and neighbours. In Kalyanpuri, many Sikh families were saved by their Hindu neighbours. In Khichripur, people from the neighbourhood of Sikh houses succeeded in chasing away the mob. Many children of Sikhs were given shelter by their Hindu neighbours. The stories of their courage and humanity all merit special attention. Even in Trilokpuri, the worst-affected by the violence, 70 percent of those rescued when the army came to their help, had been hiding in the houses of their Hindu friends and neighbours. This information came from a Sikh army officer. Not to forget what the Delhi University and JNU teachers did to counter the anti-Sikh violence. They formed all-night vigil squads from among the neighbourhood to keep away the violent mobs in their area.

A total of one lakh Sikhs had to take shelter in 30 relief camps in the post-violence period and thousands are still waiting to be rehabilitated, fourteen years and five governments later.

Five thousand Sikhs perished in the violence although the official figures do not admit to more than 2733 killings. That is because the government does not recognise the missing Sikhs as dead. Notice the attention to detail! This was the kind of attention given to plotting and executing crimes as well.



दिल्ली पुलिस ने नवम्बर 1984 कत्लेआम के वक्त दिल्ली के कई गुरुद्वारा को निशाना बनाकर वहां पर अपनी पुलिस चौकियां बना ली थी। उदाहरण के तौर पर ऊपर दिखाई गई तस्वीर गावड़ी एक्स शाना भजनपुरा दिल्ली की है। जिसे सन 1993 में दिल्ली पुलिस से आल इंडिया सिख कांफ्रेंस के अध्यक्ष सरदार गुरचरन सिंह बख्श ने संघर्ष करके वापिस ले लिया और अब इस जगह पर फिर से सिख संगत ने गुरुद्वारा श्री सिंह सभा स्थापित कर लिया है।

# THE MASSACRE WAS ORGANISED

"Thanks to Hollywood movies, I have no fear of guns." This remark, made by a Hollywood actor has an undercurrent of irony which marks our systematic desensitisation to violence. But ask any Sikh survivor of the bloody massacre, he or she, given a choice, would have settled for 'mercy-killing' by bullets and bombs. Not only because they are modern weapons but also because of the quick death they bring and because they are not "scary".

When modern weapons are freely available in the arms bazaar, when killing just takes a push button, is it not strange that Sikhs should have been killed with all kinds of improvised weapon? Executed through sophisticated weapons, the killings would have been less taxing for the killers too. So, why were they not given these weapons by those who plotted the violence? Why were the killers armed with kerosene, petrol, match boxes, deadly chemicals, iron rods, sticks and other petty weapons? Not just in Delhi. In Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Haryana. Why did the carnage start all at once in places divided by thousands of miles? Why did the police in every state affected by violence, take a uniform stand ? Why were the police control rooms in all the cities either abandoned or not functional ? Considering the gravity of the situation, even without the anti-Sikh violence, there should have been police reinforcements in every place.

There is only one answer to all these questions. The gory violence was organised and organised in a way that would make it difficult to trace the killers. A stick, an iron rod, kerosene and petrol-these are things of petty use and anybody can have them and, if somebody decides to use them for killing, there is no way to prove the crime. And, not for a moment should we believe that the blood-thirsty mobs, who devoured thousands of Sikhs, had the intelligence not to choose weapons which could make them accountable for the crimes. This, like the improvised weapons provided by the state-controlled



Agressive and very angry women protesting near Jantar Mantar, Delhi against the corrupt system



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

ration shops, was the gift of those who organised the massacre.

Look at the role played by the state-controlled (and the most powerful) electronic media. Throughout the days of violence, its focus was either on the mourners in and around Teen murti house or on the funeral arrangements. Even in that, it repeatedly showed footage of blood-thirsty mobs shouting, "*khoon ka nadla khoon* (seek blood for blood)." Other parts of the Indian media had already done their job by harping on the religious identity of the assassins. The killer mobs, who were otherwise illiterate, however, had no difficulty in putting two and two together in this case and quickly picked up the signal about whose "*khoon*" was needed to avenge the killing of Mrs. Gandhi. This is another very strong pointer to the belief that the massacre was organised by the powers that be.

There are many more indicators but among the most glaring is the fact that Sikhs in the security forces were systematically disarmed soon after the assassination.

The conspiracy theory gets its biggest boost from the fact that the assassins, Satwant Singh and Beant Singh, who surrendered their weapons almost immediately after shooting Mrs. Gandhi, were taken to a room and shot at by the ITBP commandoes in the prime minister's security. Who gave them the orders to shoot at point blank range the disarmed assassins (who, by no accounts, were resisting arrest) ? Who is it who wanted evidence behind the assassination plot wiped out immediately and desperately? Could it be the same people who plotted the subsequent violence?

Look at the evidence after the violence stopped. The same people who had organised, plotted and executed the violence now switched floors to the peace camp. Many processions paying lip service to the cause of Hindu-Sikh unity were organised by the same people.



Smt. Menka Gandhi Former Union Minister of India Addressing the rally at Boat Club  
against the killers of Nov. 84 Carnage.  
Public meeting organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## **We are exposing Secret Documents for the interest of Justice**

As, a general secretary of All India Sikh Conference, we have enclosed the affidavits on behalf of widows, victims and survivors. The affidavits have been given to the Jain Banerjee committee. We have all necessary credentials as proof. The Indian government had appealed Sikh families to register their complaints with affidavits. Those Sikh families who were not able to register FIR in 1984 under political pressure. The Jain Banerjee committee was formed to hear the plea of 1984 victims. Widows of the killed Sikh men gave testimony against accused. However, Indian Government did not take any step against these accused. Thus, it reflects the dark side of Indian Government that how much they are corrupt and disloyal towards their own country men.

All India Sikh Conference has taken pledge to fight till the end. On behalf of victims many a times, we have requested the Central Government to take action against the criminals. But the positive outcome is yet to be seen. As of now, victims await justice. In this way accused are loitering in Delhi without fear of law. We request you to read these affidavits. We are sure that the heads will be down with shame.

By  
Gurcharan Singh Babbar

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



### Affidavit

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee

I, Ajay Kaur w/o Shri. Pritam Singh aged 40years, r/o B-39B, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

- 1- That I was residing at 9/4505, Gali No. 5, Ajit Nagar, Gandhi Nagar, Delhi Prior to Nov.1984.
- 2- That I had gone to bring cow dung paaties(uple) from seelampur on 31.10.1984 late at night when I noticed Shri. H.K.L. Bhagat , our area M.P. and others forming a crowd. I also stood there to see what was going on, Shri. Bhagat was saying that Sikhs had killed out Bharat Mata and therefore it is our duty to see that every Sikh is killed. I assure you that Police will not interfere for three days and you are at full liberty to do the duty. I ran to my house and was aghast what to do. I could not sleep the whole night.
- 3- On the 1.11.1984, Joginder Singh, Jairaj, kundan Singh, Dhyan Singh, Thakar Singh, Muni Lal, Toni Langra whom I personally know very well led a mob laced with lethal weapons and attacked, looted and burnt my house. They mercilessly beat and tried to burn my husband and left his half burnt body on the road which I cremated at the spot with the help of my neighbors with whom I took refuge.
- 4- That no proper case was registered and no proper investigation carried out to apprehend the culprits.
- 5- That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed there from.

Deponent

A

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



### **Affidavit**

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee  
I, Amrit Kaur w/o Shri. Prabha Shingh age 35 yrs , r/o C-82A, Tilak Vihar,  
New Delhi do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at 32/27, Trilok puri, Delhi prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, morning Dr. Ashok Kumar, Ram Pal, Saroj Rup Lal, Sukan Lal etc. held a meeting and resolved to kill Sikhs amidst slogan as revenge and they led the mob and attacked my house and killed my husband and son Tirath Singh brutally and burnt my house. I wailed and cried but no help came to my aid.
3. That on 3.11.1984, we were taken to Farash Bazar camp, Delhi.
4. That no proper report was registered and we were merely handed out a filled in about the losses suffered in the camp.
5. That no proper investigation has been made into the matter murder of my husband and son.
6. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

**Deponent**

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

**Deponent**

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



### Affidavit

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee

I, Anwar Kaur wife of Shri.Navin Singh age 40yrs, r/o B-45C, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was a resident of A-4/127, Sultan Puri, New Delhi, prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, a mob led by Sajjan Kumar, Member of Parliament , Nathu Pradhan , Gupta of oil depot , Udal, Sis Ram Halwai proceeded towards our house and instigated killing, porting and burning Sikhs and Sikh houses. My husband was dragged out and pierced a sharp edged weapon into his stomach and burnt him after pouring kerosene and petrol on him, our house to burnt.
3. That I fully know Nathu Pradhan, Jai Bhagwan Gupta, Peerae, Rajinder and Hanuman being know figures of the locality who led the mob which committed violence murdered by husband and set my house on fire.
4. That on 3.11.1984, military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh camp from where we were forcibly turned out 12.11.84 to fend for ourselves the camp having been declared closed.
5. That my statement was not recorded my Police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the Police report. This was merely a statement of loss suffered. Despite my repeated requests the Police to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the grave lapses is not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was curtly turned away by the Police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my husband and burning of my house and those who committed the heinous crimes are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

#### Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

C

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



**Affidavit**

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee

I, Bhagwani Bai wife of Shri. Sewa Singh age 50years, r/o C-17D Tilak Vihar, New Delhi , do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

- 1- That I was residing at C-3/254, sultan puri, Delhi upto 3.11.1984.
- 2- That on 1<sup>st</sup> Nov.1984, Shri. Sajjan Kumar then M.P. of our ilaqa, whom I know since a few years came to my house with a mob and ordered them to kill the inmates and

burn the house. My two sons were dragged out and Sajjan kumar got my sons Roshir Singh 21years and Mohan Singh 18 years, burnt before my eyes.

- 3- That on 3.11.1984 military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh, camp from where we were forcibly turned out on 12.11.84 to fend for ourselves, the camp having been declared closed.
- 4- That my statement was not recorded by Police and in stead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the Police to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
- 5- That I pointed out the grave lapses in not correctly recording the statement and narration of event but was curtly turned away by the Police.
- 6- That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my sons and burning of my house and those who committed the heinous crimes are freely roaming about in the area.
- 7- That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Dated July,15,1987.

Deponent

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

**Deponat**

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



### Affidavit

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee

I, Gurdip Kaur wife of Shri. Nathu Singh aged 45yrs, r/o C-64 D, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at 32/117-118, Trilok puri, Delhi prior to Nov. 1984.
2. That a meeting held at block 33 on 1.11.1984 at 8 A.M. by Ram Pal, Saroj, Sukhan Lal, Dr.Ashok , Kanak Singh Pehlaw, Roop Lal, Kishori, Ram Lal Rohtash, Bedi, Chand, Jagga, Sansi, Ranu Mange whom I know resolved amidst slogans of "Indira Gandhi Amar Rahe" "Khoon Ka Badla Khoon", H.K.L Bhagat zindabad, not to leave any Sikh alive or property safe, after some time they attacked my shop laced with lethal weapons and burnt my shop and attacked my neighbours Kundan Singh, Jagu Singh, Jagat Singh and Harnam Singh and burning them alive and when on there I took a jug of water Rohtas splashed the water on ground and Dr.Ashok Kumar dropped kerosene into there mouths. Kishori knifed fourteen persons in my presence and when the victims got up and tried to escape they echoed that Sardars stage good dance. When then attacked Pritim, my son who had been married only 2 months ago, I begged Dr. Ashok, Sukhan Lal, and Ram pal Saroj. That my entire family had been killed at least spare him. But they tore my clothes and pushed me aside and Kishori, Ram pal and Sukhan lal killed my son Pritam too before my eyes and Dr. Ashok poured kerosene on him and burnt him. That at night these people returned again.
3. That on 3.11.1984, we were taken to Farash Bazaar camp.
4. That no proper report was registered and we were merely handed out a rilled in form about the losses suffered in the camp.
5. That no proper investigation has been made into the murder of four persons and the assistants are roaming freely.
6. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

E

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



**Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee  
Affidavit**

I, Jeet Kaur w/o Shri. Jogu Singh aged 24 yrs, r/o B-37D, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at A-4/146, Sultan pur, New Delhi prior to assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi.
2. That on 1.11.1984, in the morning a meeting was held at the residence of Nathu Pradhan of our area. After that kerosene depot holder Gupta of one locality started free distribution of kerosene and as I and my husband come out to see what the commotion was all about Nathu Pradhan, Jai Bhagwan Gupta, Peerea Ranjinder and Hanuman, persuaded us to go inside our house and no harm will come to us. We went in but after some time these people leading a mob all armed with lethal weapons, attacked our house, dragged my husband and beat him mercilessly and burnt him alive. I was terror stricken but cried and wailed but no avail. I tried my best to aid of my husband but every time the assistant pushed me away. Our house was also set on fire.
3. That I fully know Nathu Pradhan , Jai Bhagwan Gupta, Peerea, Rajinder and Hanuman being known figures of the locality whom the most committed violence, murdered my husband and set my house on fire.
4. That on 3.11.1984, military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh camp from where forcibly turned out on 12.11.1984, to fend for ourselves, the camp having been declared closed.
5. That my statement was not recorded by Police and instead they just handed over the paper purported to be a copy of the Police report. This was merely a statement of loss suffered. Despite my repeated requests to the Police to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the grave lapses in not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was curtly turned away by the Police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my husband and burning of my house and those who committed the heinous crimes are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



### Affidavit

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee

I, Kehar Singh son of Shri. Baldev Singh age 50yrs, r/o Tilak Vihar camp, opp. of Cremation ground New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at I-537, Mongol Puri, Delhi prior to Nov. 1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, I went to my shop in the morning as usual at D-block just opposite the Congress I. Office where Shri Sajjan Kumar M.P. was addressing a crowd that Sikhs have killed our Mata Smt. Indira Gandhi and that no Sikhs of my area should be spared and all must be killed. At that Iswar Singh, Hardawari Lal, Mala Ram, Ranjinder , Shoukeen, Sita Ram stated raising slogans against Sikhs and Khooon Ka Badla Khooon, "Indira Gandhi Amar Rahe" etc. I immediately raced to my house and peeped through dark holes to watch the situation, noticed these people advancing with lethal weapons and attacking the Gurudwara where they brutally attacked Dr. Iqbal Singh Chada, Resham Singh and Ajit Singh and burnt them while alive in the Gurudwara, when they neared my house in search of me, my neighbors told them that at that time. That there were only three Sikhs whom they have already killed at which the mob retraced from there.
3. That I was rescued from my house by the military on 3.11.1984 and taken to Rani Bagh camp.
4. That I volunteered to Police to be witness to the Murder of Dr. Iqbal Singh Chadha, Resham Singh and Ajit Singh and was told that as no case is being registered how my testimony could be recorded.
5. That the murder of above named three Sikhs has not been investigated and no proper report registered.
6. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



**Affidavit**

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee

I, Phata Singh son of S.Doonger Singh, aged 50years, resident of Tilak Vihar camp, New Delhi do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at A-4/124 -126, sultan puri, New Delhi prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, a mob of 500-600 strength carrying cans of oil, rods, & Tyres, led by Sajjan kumar , Then member of Parliament of our constitution, Gupta of kerosene depot, Jai Bhagwan , Islam, Peerea, Hanuman, Prasad of ration depot, Nathu pradhan , Udal Jat Gauri Sankar , Jai Kishan PA of Sajjan Kumar along with S.H.O with force arrived near my house and Sajjan Kumar making platform of his car exhorted the mob not loot but to kill Sikhs, a gunfire started and my son Dalgir Singh aged 22 yrs, were attacked and killed and burnt by putting tyre around his neck soaked in kerosene. I failed to intervene as furious mob pushed me away.
3. That I fully know Natru Pradhan, Gupta of kerosene Depot, Jai Bhagwan, Islam , Peeraa, Hanuman Prasad of ration depot, Udal Jat, Gauri Shanker , Jai Kishan P.A. of Sajjan kumar being know figures of the locality, who led the mob which committed violence, murdered and my son and set my house on fire.
4. That on 3.11.1984 military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh camp where we were forcibly turned out on 12.11.84 to fend for ourselves the camp having been declared closed.
5. That my statement was not recorded by Police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the Police report. This was merely a statement of loss suffered. Despite my repeated requests to the Police to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the Grave lapses is not correctly recoding the statement and narration of events but was curtly turned away by the Police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my son and burning of my house and those who committed the heinous crimes are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

**Verification**

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

H



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Shri A.K.Banner ji Committee  
**Affidavit**

I, Kewal Singh son of Sh. Charan Singh aged 25 years, R/o Tilak Vihar Camp opp. Cremation ground New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at 178, Indira Park East Uttam Nagar, New Delhi prior to Nov. 1984.
2. That on 2.11.1984, Dharam Pal Binda, Puria, Guddo of Kerosene oil depot, were leading a menacing mob, where I found them killing two Sikhs and approaching my house. I ran and jumped a wall and hid behind trees from where, I saw them looting my house.
3. I escaped to Vikas Puri, at night.
4. That Report was duly registered but no action has been taken.  
To bring culprits to book and investigation has taken place.
6. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instruction. The same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Verification.

I, the above named deponent do hereby verify that the statement given above is true and correct to my knowledge thereof.

Declared at Delhi on this 16.7.1987.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Shri A.K.Banner ji Commettee.

**Affidavit**

I, Vidya Kaur W/O Sh.Sadool Singh, aged 27 years, r/oC-17A, Tilak vihar, New Delhi, dohereby solemnly affirm and decleare as under:

1. That I was residing at 30/461, Trilok puri, Delhi Prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, Bharat jadish, Chawla, Lalita guptaji, Kishan lal with his two sons leads a mob and looted and burnt our house.
- 3.That on 2.11.1984 ,these persons came again with a mob laced with lethal weapons and found out my husband from a hiding in a neighboring house and beat him and threw him down from double storey and killed him with lathes and iron rods and I was pushed aside when I rushed to save him.
4. That on 3.11.1984, we were taken to farsh bazaar camp.
5. That no proper report was registered and we were merely handed out a filled in from about the losses suffered in the camp.
6. That no investigation has been made is the murder of my husband.
7. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instructions. The same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular .I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification.

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.  
Declared at Delhi on this 16.7.1987.Deponent

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Before the in the court of justice M.L.Jain and  
shri A.K.Bannerji Committee

### Affidavit

I, Satnam Kaur W/O Sh.Mohan Singh aged 27 r/o C-DD A,  
Tilak Vihar, New Delhi, and I Do hereby solemnly affirm and decleare  
as under:-

1.that I was residing at 32/183,on 1.11.1984,at 8.00 am when Rampal  
Saroj, Kanak Singh ,Sukhan Lal,Dr.Ashok Kumar extorted a mob to kill  
Sikhs to take revenge of the killing of our mother amidst slogans  
.the mob laced with lethal weapons started killing Sikhs and burning  
their houses .

3.on 2.11.1984, at about 7.30 M Murari Dhobi Pandit,Chand,and his  
two brothers, Banwari Ram pal ,kamal Singh came to our house.Murari  
,Dhobi,Kamal Singh and chands brother Attacked my husband Mohan  
Singh and burnt him in spite of my pleadings and looted entire  
property.

4. That on 3.11.1984, we were taken to farsh bazaar camp,

5. That no report was registered and we were merely handed out a  
filled in from about the loss suffered in camp.

6. That no investigation has been made into the murder of my  
husband.

7. That my above stated deposition has recorded as per my  
instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me in  
vernacular .I understand the same fully and is correct

Deponent

Verification .

I, above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given  
above is true and correct my personal, knowledge and that nothing  
has been concealed thereof.

Declared at Delhi on this 16.7.1987.

K

Deponent

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Sh.A.K Banner Committee.

**Affidavit**

I, Mohinder Kaur w/o Sh. Joginder aged 60 years, r/o B-15A, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under :-

1. That I was residing D-395-396, Mangol Puri, and New Delhi Prior to Nov. 1984.
  2. That on 2.11.1984, a big crowd invaded Sikh houses burnt our scooters and shouting slogans to kill the Sikhs. Shri Sajjan Kumar, M.P. was at the head of the crowd laced with lathis, rods, sharp edged weapons and cans, along with raising slogans the crowd dragged out my husband aged 62 years, my sons Baldev Singh, aged 28 years, and Lakhbir Singh, aged 20 years, and burnt them alive and while at fire beat them with lathis and rods.
  3. That I and my daughter witnessed the scene and my daughter has turned insane on this account.
  4. That on 3.11.1984 Military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh camp room where we were fearfully, turned out on 12.11.84  
To fend for our selves and the camp closed.
  5. That my statement was not recorded Police mislead they just handed over a paper purported to me a copy of the Police and instead they handed over a paper purported to me, a copy of the Police report. This was merely a statement or losses suffered despite my repeated request to the police to approach and the culprits nothing was done.
  6. That I pointed out the grave lapses in not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was courtly turned away by the police.
  7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my husband and burnings of my house and those who committed the heinous crimes are freely roaming about in the area.
  8. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instructions the same has been translated and read out to me in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.
- Verification.

Verified at Delhi- on this 15.7.1987, that I, above named deponent do hereby verify that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

L

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Sh.A.K Banner Committee

### Affidavit

I, Gulabo Kaur Wife of Sitan Singh Aged 44 years r/o B-294, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirmed and declare as under :-

1. That I was Residing at A-5/153, Sultan Puri, New Delhi, Prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984 Shri Sajjan Kumar Member of Parliament along with Nathu ,Udai ,Gupta, Whom I personally Know very well, lead and brought a mob to my house ,all laced with lethal, weapons and Sajjan Kumar thundered to kill Sikhs and burn Sikh house .I along with my husband went to the roof top when Udai also climbed to the roof top of Gupta's house and fired a gun shot which hit my husband, and my brother carried my husband down stairs when the mob set on our house where they pounced upon Resham Singh ,Phata singh, Joginder Singh, killed them mercilessly and burnt them alive. They also set our house on fire.
3. That I fully know Nathu Pradhan, Udai, Gupta, Being know figures of the locality who led the mob which committed violence, murdered my husband and others, and set my house on fire .
4. That on 3.11.1984, Military rescued us and took us to Rambagh camp from where we were forcibly turned out on 12.11.1984, to fend for ourselves, the camp having been declared closed.
5. That my statement was not recorded by police instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the police report, this was merely a statements of loss suffered. Despite my repeated request to the police approached the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the grave lapses, not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was curtsy turned away by the Police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my husband burning of my house and those who committed to the heinous crimes are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instructions. The same has been translated and read out to me in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification.

Verified at Delhi, on this 16.7.1987, that the contents of this affidavit is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Declared at Delhi- on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987

Deponent

M

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Sh.A.K Banner Committee

**Affidavit**

I, Guddi kaur, w/o Sh. Harjit Singh aged 26 years r/o B-37c, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi do hereby solemnly affirm and declared as under :-

1. That I was residing at A-5/145, Sultan Puri, and New Delhi prior to Nov. 1984.
  2. That on 1.11.1984 in the morning a meeting was held at the residence of Nathu Pradhan of the area. After that kerosene depot holder Gupta of one locality started free distribution of kerosene and as I and my husband came out to see what the commotion was all about Nathu Pradhan, Jai Bhagwan Gupta, Peerea, Rajinder and Hanuman persuaded us to go inside our house and that no harm will come to us, we went in but after some time these people leading a mob all armed with lethal weapons, attacked our house, dragged my husband aged 28 years. Beat him mercilessly and burnt him alive. I was terror-stricken but carried and wailed but to no avail. I tried my best to come to the aid of my husband but every time the assailants pushed me away. Our house was also set fire.
  3. That I fully know Nathu Pradhan, Jai Bhagwan Gupta, Peerea, Rajinder and Hanuman known figures of the locality who led the mob which committed violence, murdered my husband and set my house on fire.
  4. That on 3.11.84 military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh camp from where we were forcibly turned out on 12.11.84 to fend for ourselves, the camp having been declared closed.
  5. That my statement was not recorded by Police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the police report. This was merely a statement of loss suffered. Despite my repeated requests to the police to approach the culprits nothing was done.
  6. That I pointed out the grave lapses in not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was curtly turned away by the police.
  7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my husband and burning of my house and those who committed the heinous crimes are freely roaming in the area.
  8. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instruction the same has been translated and read out to me in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.
- Dated July, 25, 1987,

Verified at Delhi on this 15.7.1987, above named deponent do hereby verify that the statement given is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

N

Deponent



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Sh.A.K Banner Committee

### Affidavit

I, Joginder Singh son of sh.Rur Singh aged about 28 year's/o Tilak vihar camp, new Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at B-2/301, sultan puri, New Delhi prior to 3.11.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, Member of Parliament Shri Sajjan Kumar brought a mob of ruffians laced with lathis, kerosene, petrol etc. called Nathu Pardhan, Ramesh, Peeru, Sansi, Viki, Misuri, Area chand / bhaskar, Arjun, Mohinder, Jalaw, and Munna Singh told them that they had 72 hours, freedom to kill. No Sikhs should be escape. S.H.O who was accompanying them killed three Sikhs, my brother Surjit Singh aged 32 years, was dragged out and burnt alive. I was not allowed to save my brother and pushed away by the Assassins.
3. That I fully know Nathu Pardhan, Ramesh, Peeru, Sansi, Vikki, Mistri Tara Chand Bhaskar, Arjun, Mohinder, Jalab, Munna, and others being known figures of the locality who led the mob which committed violence, murdered my brother and set my house on fire.
4. That on 3.11.1984, Military rescued us at Rani bagh camp from where we were forcibly turned out on 12.11.1984, to fend for ourselves, the camp having been declared close.
5. That my statement was not recorded by police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the Police report. This was merely a statement of loss and to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the grave lapses in not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was curtly turned away by the police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my husband and burning of my house and those whom committed the heinous crime are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instructions. The same has been translated and read out to me in vernacular. I understand the same fully and it is correct.

Verification.

Deponent

Verified at Delhi on this 23.7.1987, that I, the above named deponent do hereby verify that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been canceled thereof.

O

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Sh.A.K Banner Committee

**Affidavit**

I, Joginder Singh son of sh.Rur Singh aged about 28 year's/o tilak vihar camp, new Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at B-2/301, sultan puri, New Delhi prior to 3.11.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984,our member of parliament Sajjan Kumar brought a mob of ruffians laced with lathis, kerosene Patrol etc. called Nathu P ardhan, Ramesh , Peeru, Sansi , Viki, Misuri, Area chand /bhaskar,Arjun,mohinder, Jalaw, and Munna Singh told them that they had 72 hours, freedom to kill No Sikhs should be escape S.H.O who was accompanying them killed three Sikhs ,my brother Surjit Singh aged 32 years, was dragged out and burnt alive I was not allowed to save my brother and pushed away by the Assassins.
3. That I fully know nathu pardhan ,Ramesh , Peeru, Sansi, Vikki, Mistri Tara Chand Bhaskar, Arjun, Mohinder , jalab, Munna, and others being known figures of the locality who led the mob which committed violence ,murder my brother and set my house on fire.
4. That on 3.11.1984, Military rescued us at Rani bagh camp from where we were forcibly turned out on 12.11.1984, to fend for ourselves, the camp having been declared close.
5. That my stament was not recorded by police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the Police report. This was merely a statement of loss and to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the grave lapses is not correctly recording the statement and narration or events but was curtly turned away by the police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made is the murder of my husband and burning of my house and those whom committed the heinous crime are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instructions the same has been translated and read out to me to vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Verification.

Deponent

Verified at Delhi on this 23.7.1987, that I, the above named deponent do hereby verify that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been canceled thereof.

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Sh.A.K Banner Committee

### Affidavit

I, Sidhara Kaur w/o Anand Singh 48 years ,r/o B-37D, Tilak nagar, New Delhi ,do I hereby solemnly affirm and declared as under :-

1. That I was residing at A-4/B1 sultan puri, New Delhi prior to nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984,our Ilaka Member of Parliament , Sajjan Kumar, and held a meeting .after the meeting Indira Gandhi "Khoon Ka badla khoon "Sardaron ko jaan se maar do"Bachcho tak mardo , slogan sent the air and within moments the crowd led by Rajinder , Jai Bhagwan, Peerea, Nathu Pardhan and laced with rod,lathis , sharp edged weapons ,and arrived dragged my husband out hit him on the head and burnt when I intervened they threatened to kill even my small child with whom I ran for safety to a nearby mosque.
3. That 3.11.1984, Military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh camp from where we were forcibly turned out. On 12.11.84 to fend for ourselves, the camp having been declared closed.
4. That I fully know Nathu Pardhan ,Jai Bhagwan gupta , Peerea, Rajinder and hanuman being known figures of the locality who led the mob along with Sajjan Kumar, which committed violence murdered my husband and set my house on fire.
5. That my statement was not recorded by police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of loss suffered, despite my repeated request to the police to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the rave lapses is not correctly recording the statement and narration of events out was curtly turned away by the police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made the murderer of my husband and burning of my house and those who committed the heinous crime are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instructions the same has been translated and read out to me in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification.

I. the above named deponent do hereby verify that the statement give is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been canceled thereof.

Declared .at Delhi this 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

Deponent

Q

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



Before the justice M.L.Jain and Sh.A.K Banner Committee

**Affidavit**

I, Jasbir Singh son of Sh. Sattu aged 21 years, r/o O-67B Tilak Vihar, New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under :-

1. That I was residing with my uncle S. Sital Singh at B-583, Jagjit Nagar Delhi-53 U, Nov. 1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, a Mob led by Bola, his son Raju and Bholas while guided the mob to our house, the mob also included kerosene oil, and they burnt our house, we took refuge in a relative's house. When the mob threatened to burn that house too, my uncle came out and fought the one to whom they intervened; he clashed. I got my hair cut and shined and took refuge with my elder uncle.
3. That I visited various camps in search of my other relatives.
4. That on 3.11.1984, I met one, S. Sucha Singh at Lualow Castle School Camp, who came to provide relief to refugees and when I narrated to him my fate of suffering, he offered me to stay with him for a few days and I assisted him in dairy work on payment.
5. He also led me to grow hair again and lead the life of a Sikh.
6. That on 11.1.1984, my first day at S. Sucha Singh's house at Outer Ring Line, examining the location and the new place around 1 P.M. I noticed a goon standing near T.B. Hospital Gate when I neared a car arrived & Shri Jadish Tytler, Minister Arrived. I know and recognize him as a Congress leader. He refused to visit Trans-Jamuna also with late Shri Sanjay Gandhi. He immediately burst out and rebuts the persons forming the group that his instructions have not been faithfully carried out. His position has been greatly compromised and lowered in the eyes of central leaders, there has been only nominal killing in his constituency compared to East Delhi, Outer Delhi, Cantt. etc. Now he would be able to stake claim in future. I had promised large scale killing of Sikhs and sought full protection but you have betrayed and let me down and he left in a huff.
7. That I narrated the details to S. Suchha Singh who nodded that every body by now knows that Congress leader of Delhi had instigated the killings.
8. We remain alert the whole night.
9. That no proper investigation had been done to the killings.
10. That my above stated deposition has been recorded as per my instructions the same has been translated and read out to me in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification.

I, the above named deponent do hereby verify that the statement given is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been canceled thereof.

Declared at Delhi this 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

Deponent

R

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



### Affidavit

Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee

I, Sugri Bai w/o Shri. Sarup Singh aged 40yrs, r/o C-804, Tilak Vihar, New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at 38/13, Triklok puri, Delhi, prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, a morning a meeting was held at block 33 by Rampal Saroj, Sukhan Lal, Kanak Singh as they have killed Mata Smt. Indira Gandhi. After some time these people leading a crowd with lethal weapons and burning towns attacked Sarup Singh, Partap Singh, Dheru Singh, Jeru Singh, Arjan Singh, Jagat Singh, mercilessly beat them and burnt while alive and burnt my house.
3. On 3.11.1984, at about 7.30 am we were taken to Farash Bazaar camp, Delhi.
4. That no proper report was registered and were merely handed out a filled in form about the loss suffered in camp.
5. That no investigation has been made into the murder of my husband and criminals who committed the heinous crimes are roaming about freely.
6. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

### Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.**



## **Affidavit**

**Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee**

I, Sumer Singh s/o Shri. Bhoja Singh aged 50 yrs, r/o TilakVihar camp, New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at A-4/129, Sultan Puri, New Delhi , for over 12 yrs. Prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, our Ilaka M.P. Sajjan Kumar held a meeting at a park opposite my house prominent among then were Nathu Pradhan, Udal Jat, Islam and Hanuman. After the meeting the mob laced with Lathis, rods, sharp edged weapons, cans and Udal and Islam carrying guns led the crowd and attacked my house.
3. That in this my sons Ajit Singh, 25yrs, Shankar Singh 20yrs, Dara Singh 16yrs, Jailder Singh 12yrs, were killed and burnt.
4. That I was also grievously hurt while intervening and trying to save them. Some body took me to a nearby mosque.
5. That my statement was not recorded by Police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the Police report. This merely a statement of loss suffered. Despite my repeated requests to the Police to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the grave lapses is not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was curtly turned away by the Police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the burning of my house and hose who committed the heinous crimes are freely roaming in the area.
8. That my above statement deposition has been recorded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

T



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



### Affidavit

**Before the Justice M.L.Jain and Shri.A.K Bannerji Committee**

I, Vidya Devi wife of Shri. Arjun Singh age 35 yrs, r/o C-13D, Tilak Vihar , New Delhi, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as under:-

1. That I was residing at C-13D, Tilak Vihar prior to Nov.1984.
2. That on 1.11.1984, Sajjan Kuamr Member of Parliament, led a mob laced with lathis, rods, cannas etc. to my house and directed them kill, burn and loot. At this Danny, Prem Raju, Pappu, Gopi dragged my husband aged 40yrs, inflicted head injury with sharp edged weapon and burnt him by pouring kerosene cylinders. They also looted my entire property including dowry prepared for marriage of my daughter and burnt my house. I was not able to save my husband or intervene as I was pushed away and threshed by the assailants.
3. That I fully know Danny, Prem, Raju, Pappu, Gopi being known figures of the locality who led the mob along with Sajjan Kumar, which committed Violence murdered my husband and set my house on fire .
4. That on 3.11.1984, military rescued us and took us to Rani Bagh camp from where we forcibly turned out on 12.11.1984 to fend for ourselves the camp having been declared closed.
5. That my statement was not recorded by Police and instead they just handed over a paper purported to be a copy of the Police report. This was merely a statement of loss suffered. Despite my repeated requests to the Police to apprehend the culprits nothing was done.
6. That I pointed out the grave lapses is not correctly recording the statement and narration of events but was curtly turned away by the Police.
7. That no investigation whatsoever has been made in the murder of my husband and burning of my heinous crimes freely roaming about in the area.
8. That my above stated deposition has been recoded as per my instructions, the same has been translated and read out to me, in vernacular. I understand the same fully and is correct.

Deponent

Verification

I, the above named deponent do hereby verified that the statement given above is true and correct to my personal knowledge and that nothing has been concealed thereof.

Deponent

Declared at Delhi on this 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1987.

U

## **PRECIOUS PROOF OF THE CRIMES IS VANISHING**

As stated in earlier chapters, because of the highly professional nature of the massacre, it is very hard to prove the identity of the criminals, both who were on and off the scene. The only eye-witnesses, who are holding on to the memory of what and who they saw executing those crimes, are, the immediate families of the victims. Fourteen years later, perhaps, there is a question mark even on that. Not only because memory can fade with time and pain but also because some of the eye-witnesses may be too traumatised to come out with everything that happened to them. For instance, hundreds of young girls and women were gang-raped but none has even spoken about it. Rape, despite the rate at which it takes place in India and despite no rapist in the country having ever got more than two years behind bars, is, officially, still considered a crime. Besides, some eye-witnesses were very young at the time and their memory is lost in the cycle of time.

Life expectancy in India is not high and it goes without saying that the poor and the sick die quite young. In millions of cases they never live to be young. The survivors of the massacre, with wounds in their hearts that will stop bleeding only with their last breaths, cannot be expected to live much longer. In fact, hundreds of old men and women who saw their young sons being brutally killed are already dead. One hundred and seventeen young women who witnessed those spine-chilling killings (whom I knew personally due to my involvement in the relief work) committed suicide.

Thousand of others have nothing to live for, nobody to turn to. Words like "keep faith in God," draw a blank from them. There is really no language to describe their pain and poverty.

The point to underline here is that the surviving eye-witnesses must be heard before it is too late. Already, there is a dearth of proof that can withstand a legal investigation. What is there is too precious to be lost.



Hundred of widows demonstrating outside former Home Minister Sardar Buta Singh's residence against killers

# INDIAN JUDICIARY'S DOUBLE STANDARDS

Study the following facts and draw your own conclusions.

The assassins of Mrs. Gandhi, Beant Singh and Satwant Singh, after shooting Mrs. Gandhi, surrendered their weapons. They were taken to a room by the others in Mrs. Gandhi's security, including, the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) commandoes and shot at. Beant Singh died on the spot and Satwant Singh survived to be hanged for the crime, thirty six months after committing it. Among the most glaring gaps in the trial of Satwant Singh was the fact that, the ITBP commandoes who shot him and Beant Singh, were not allowed to stand witness, despite concerted efforts by Satwant Singh's lawyer, Mr Ram Jethmalani.

Kehar Singh was hanged alongwith Satwant Singh. His crime, according to those who tried him in court? He was a party to the conspiracy to kill Mrs. Gandhi. He was nowhere on the scene of the crime, nor could the prosecutors convincingly prove that he had been a party to the conspiracy. But he was hanged.

That is the efficiency and speed with which justice was meted out to the killers of Mrs. Gandhi.

Now read the other side of the story.

Thousands of Sikhs were openly massacred for four long days in the streets of India. Hundreds of killers, seen by and known to the victims' families, are prowling free. Those who planned and organised the anti-Sikh violence, some of them on trial, still have state-provided security (comprising of the country's best-trained commandoes).

For the consolation of the survivors, the state set up many commissions of inquiry but all were equally useless.

The first appointee to the august post of Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry

CITY — 'A champion of 1984 riot victims'

# Police witch-hunt for Babbar condemned

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, Aug 15 — Even as the hearing on the Jan-Bhagat Singh case continues in a Delhi court, a witch-hunt for the man who is widely regarded as the champion of the riot victims is being launched by the police. The police are trying to find out if the man is a member of the Jan-Bhagat Singh Committee, a group which has been set up to help the victims of the 1984 riots.

Mr Babbar has been in the forefront of the riot victims' long battle to get those guilty of the 1984 riots punished. He has demanded that Mr H. D. Duggal, son of Mr H. K. L. Bhagat, should resign from the post of Union Minister, should resign from the post of Union Minister, should resign from the post of Union Minister.

His work with the riot victims has brought him in touch with prominent citizens in the Capital, all of whom are unanimous in their opinion that Mr Babbar is "above suspicion". This move against him is highly motivated and obnoxious, Mr Babbar is a selfless, social and good social worker, respected in his community and outside," said Mr I. K. Garg, former Minister of Information and Publicity.

**Fighting for a cause** — He has been involved in taking up the cause of those who suffered in the November 1984 riots. "I have known him since then. I think we should definitely prevent his being treated like this," Mr Garg said. Mr Babbar participated in three all-party conferences on Punjab organised by Mr Garg and "made significant contributions". Justice Rajender Sachar of the Punjab High Court, who presided over the trial of the accused in the Delhi police against Mr Babbar, has no hesitation in calling him a "champion of the riot victims". "I think it is a serious matter. The police has no business circulating his photograph and displaying his reputation," he said.

"I would think he is the last person to be a security risk," Mr Sachar said. Mr Babbar had been working openly for the riot victims and there was nothing clandestine about his activities, said the former Chief Justice of the High Court.

**Not an undesirable element** — Prof Madhu Dandekar, Mr said: "He is not an undesirable element. His activities have been in the forefront of the riot victims' long battle to get those guilty of the 1984 riots punished. He has demanded that Mr H. D. Duggal, son of Mr H. K. L. Bhagat, should resign from the post of Union Minister, should resign from the post of Union Minister, should resign from the post of Union Minister."

Mr Babbar moves openly and lives at a verified address in Delhi. Duggal, however, said, the police have made an error in arrest him, although his photograph has been in circulation for some months now.



Garachan Singh Babbar

been totally above board." For the last five years, Mr Babbar has addressed scores of rallies of riot victims, and organised blood-donation drives to help the victims. He has addressed several public conferences.

Last year, he went on a hunger strike to protest the violence being perpetrated on Sikhs in Delhi, Karnataka, Mr S. K. Jeyaraj, a former Minister of Information and Publicity, said: "Probably this is what Mr Bhagat, Mr

Singh Kaur and Mr Jagdish Tytler are scared of," he said. It was a move to harass him, and to scare of other riot victims from approaching the judiciary, he said.

Mr Babbar fears that the police may even try to liquidate him. He has been receiving threats to his life ever since the riots. He also claims that a call, identifying himself as Durgal, son of Mr H. K. L. Bhagat, asked him to hand over all his belongings to the police in exchange for all the riot victims' cases incurred by his organisation during the process.

He met the Commissioner of Police, Mr Vijay Kaur, on May 30 to request that the riot victims' cases be traced. "Instead, the Commissioner told me, 'Have them killed and we'll be happy to do it'."

Mr Babbar told ENS on Tuesday, Friday, he attended the proceedings of the Jan-Bhagat Singh Committee when he came to know that he was "wanted" man.

At one of the public meetings, a newspaper reporter was threatening the head of the Jan-Bhagat Singh Committee. "I found that the police had surrounded a temple and I was on the 'wanted' list," he said.

## Anticipatory bail plea

At the High Court, he ruled in the Chief Justice's favour, to let him have his chance of obtaining anticipatory bail. He was not allowed to see him and had to approach him at his residence later in the evening. There, he was told to come through the gate.

Mr Babbar then went to the registrar's office, who asked him to come the next day with a petition. On Saturday, Justice H. N. Sachar heard his plea for anticipatory bail but as his petition was not worded properly, the hearing was postponed to Monday.

As the lawyer was not satisfied with the wording of the petition, the hearing was again postponed from Monday to Wednesday.



**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

set up by the government, was, justice Ranga Nath Mishra.

What did Justice Mishra do? He gave a clean chit to the Congress party by concluding the inquiry on this note : No congress leader was involved in the violence. This, despite the fact that, the question, whether the Congress party had a hand in the anti-Sikh violence, was not even listed in the scope of inquiry. Justice Mishra was suitably rewarded for this. His next posting (from an ordinary judge of the Supreme Court) was as the Chief Justice of India. There seems to be no end to the irony which marks government's actions in the period after the carnage of Sikhs. Justice Mishra went on to become the Chairman of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), set up by a Congress government.

Now, a look at the way justice Mishra conducted the inquiry—alone, behind closed doors, where the survivors gave him their accounts of the violence.

Who did they blame? What did they say? How did they say? Nobody, other than Justice Mishra has a clue. Apparently, they said enough for Justice Mishra to give a clean chit to the Congress Party, but not enough to find anybody else guilty of violence.

Presuming that the Congress had no hand in the killings, could justice Mishra not find anyone guilty? Or, did he believe there were no killings? If he acknowledges that the killings took place, was it not his job to find out the killers, on the basis of the survivors' accounts? Why else was he appointed? To clear the name of the ruling party?

Who was responsible for the killings, if not the Congress ? Justice Mishra's silence on the question is bad enough. But, how is it that 14 years later, this question is not even being asked much less answered by anybody in India? Don't all these questions make us reflect on the sad state of democracy in India?



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE  
(BABBAR)

## **“FORGET AND FORGIVE,” SIKHS ARE TOLD**

Sikhs as a community and Sikh religious and political leadership, in particular, have had to listen to a lot of wise talk on the November, 1984 events. " Why rake up an old issue? " Time is the best healer." "Forget and forgive." "God will punish the guilty." And much more.

I too have been at the receiving end of such noble advice. And, who are the people giving it ? Top government officials, agents of the Congress party, professional fixers dealing on behalf of some of those facing trial (none of whom can be named for obvious reasons). And, Just to make their advice credible they have recruited some Sikhs to influence me out of campaigning for justice for the victims' families. Following is a clip of a conversation I had with a top government official who came to meet me alongwith a top Sikh industrialist.

"Babbar saab, we have come to ask you for a favour. "

Sure, I will do it, if I can."

"We knew you would not disappoint us." they cheered up.

"Babbar saab you have done a lot on the November 1984 issue, spent so many years of your life on it. Isn't it time we closed this sad chapter? It will bring relief both to the victims and to the country."

***I agreed to their proposal on the following conditions.***

***"You forget Indira Gandhi. Let nobody ever visit her grave. Forget it is a national monument. Forget Rajiv Gandhi. Release all those directly or indirectly involved in his killing of jail. Forget they ever lived."***

The two men left. They did not come back. But, many others did. Many more will come. I am prepared with my answer. I have rehearsed it over and over.

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Dharna organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
near Rashtrapati Bhawan for justice

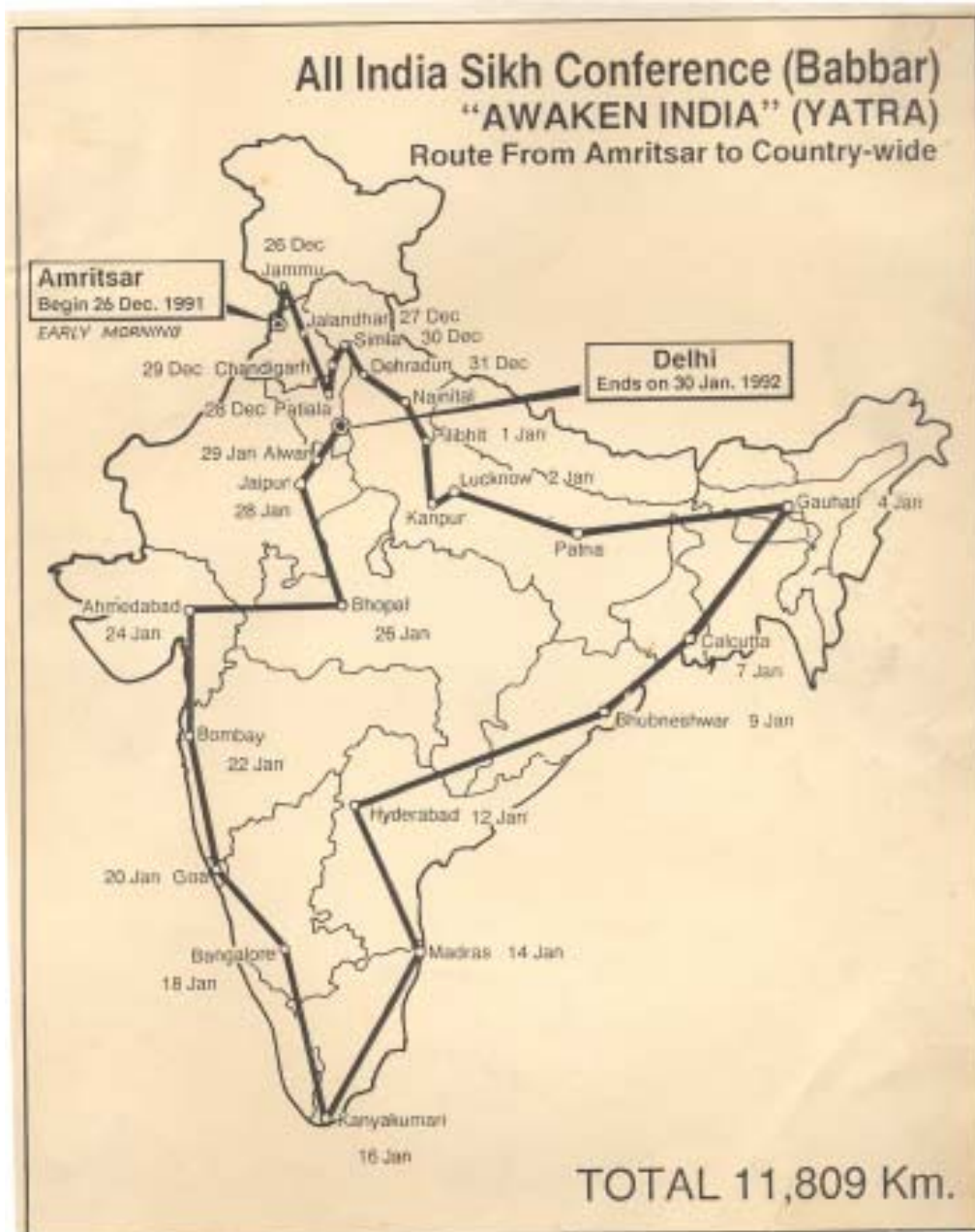
## ‘RIOTS’ IS A MISNOMER

*For over 14 years, reams have been written on the November, 1984 anti-Sikh violence. A section of the media has played a very important role in keeping the issue alive, which would, hopefully, play a key role in the victims' families eventually getting justice. However, in a majority of the reports, the violence has been referred to as a “riot”. My book is a small attempt in correcting that wrong. To refer to a state-sponsored massacre of Sikhs, as “riots” a would be a serious mistake and a distortion of history.*

*Let us examine what a riot is. It is a two-sided show of violence with the elements of action and reaction although, not necessarily, equal and opposite.*

*However, nothing of the sort happened in November, 1984. Sikhs did not react to any killing. They did not attack anybody. They did not attack any property. They did not attack any religious place. They did not rape any woman. There was not a single non-Sikh in any relief camp. In all these years, not a single witness has come forward to even claim that Sikhs were seen or heard celebrating Mrs. Indira Gandhi's killing, a rumour that cost thousands of Sikhs their lives, in a show of violence which has no precedent in the history of pre or post-partition India.*

*The import of the book is to underline that the November, 1984 anti-Sikh violence was a government-sponsored genocide of Sikhs.*



## CONGRESS (I) : THE CHIEF CULPRIT

*The Congress party, each of whose members cannot stop croaking about the party's commitment to secularism, emerges as the chief culprit in this genocide. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the massacre took place on the orders of late prime minister Rajiv Gandhi and his coterie. Each of the Congress party members is guilty. The hands of each one of them are soaked in the blood of Sikhs, never mind the propaganda material about their secular nature that they dish out through a largely insensitive and unthinking media. In fact, this is not the only example of the Congress's role in participating in communal violence although it is the most serious example. The party has been known to be involved in a majority of the communal riots anywhere in the country, especially, in states where it was the ruling party. It may be of some interest to the public to know that, till date, the party has not even expressed sorrow at the genocide of Sikhs much less apologise for it. The Congress is the only political party in the country which has not made a single statement or submitted any memorandum to any quarters for the cause of the victims. Nor has it participated in any relief work for the families. All these facts are self-explanatory and, of course, shining pointers to the Congress party's "secular" character.*



Riot Victims Addressed the Media Person outside P.M House  
organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)



*Following is a list of those involved in the  
anti-Sikh violence of November, 1984*

**TRILOKPURI**

**BLOCK 5**

1. Papita, a gangster

**BLOCK 12**

2. Brahmni ( Mishrani) Shastri

**BLOCK 14**

3. Baleshwar Bhargi alias Bhalu
4. Bal Kishen

**BLOCK 21**

5. Bihari Dhobi

**BLOCK 25**

6. B D Sharma

**BLOCK 27**

7. Israi Ali alias Chunnu
8. Salim, a notorious criminal
9. Massa, charas smuggler

**BLOCK 28**

10. Yayiha Siddiqui, clinic owner  
on the main road of Block 27
11. Manu Singh, shopkeeper
12. Soni, railway employee
13. Mukesh

**BLOCK 29**

14. Mukri Master

**BLOCK 30**

15. Om Prakash alias Omi, mason
16. Ved Prakash, brother of omi and  
head mason by vocation
17. Noor Jahan
18. Karamat, cement-seller
19. Shabnam, owner of a TV shop
20. Damesh
21. Punju
22. Salim
23. Abvas's son in law  
( Abbas of Block 32)
24. Mukri, video shop owner
25. Hasin

**BLOCK 31**

26. Kamruddin, flour-mill owner
27. Niyamat Ali
28. Neenav, tea shop owner
29. Dr. V P Singh
30. Duli Chand, local gangster
31. Rampal Saroj, Congress (I) leader
32. Gopal Singh
33. Kishori Lal and his four brothers,  
manely, Shravan, Shiya Chote and  
Kamal who are a leged to have  
brutally murdered four Sikhs,  
Hukam Singh, Teerath Singh,  
sajjan Singh and Soma Singh.



PUBLIC MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH  
CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

34. Jaggi Sansi and his wife, Draupdi
35. Kharak Singh Pradhan
36. Gaffar Khan, cement-seller
37. Manu Sansi
39. Aasim
40. Somnath, alleged to have killed Hoshiar Singh ( son of Milap Singh) alongwith three other men after locking them in a room and setting it on fire
41. Ajit
42. Kadir
43. Monga
44. Sati
45. Telo Sansi, Draupdi's sister
46. Rooplal, who is alleged to have murdered Labh Singh
47. Omi Chamar, cobbler
48. Murari, vegetable-seller with a shop in Block 31
49. Pehlvaan, brother of Rashid
50. Bachchan
51. Aziz
52. Ansar
53. Kallo Khan, dhaba-owner
54. Abbaas, cloth and shoe shop owner in Block 27
55. Dr. Lambu
56. Bhallo, boot legger
57. Kayamat Ali
58. Raju Bhangi
59. Jaggi

60. Bhaiyya
61. Murli Khan
62. Sher Khan
63. Raju Ram
64. Bedhu Ram, alleged to have killed in 31/99 and 32/97 blocks

**BLOCK 33**

65. Pappu
66. Bhoom, local gangster
67. Gyani, student
68. Mohhamed, bicycle shop-owner
69. Birju
70. Zakir
71. Kamal Singh, rickshaw-owner
72. Munshi
73. Rashid, cycle rickshaw shop-owner in block 32
98. Ganapat, shop-owner
99. Piriya, Gujarati
100. Gurbat Bhai
101. Islam
102. Rao
103. Changa Doctor
104. Omi three-wheeler driver
105. Garib Das
106. Dharmanand, kerosene-shop owner

**BLOCK A-5**

107. Hasla Ram
108. Mangla
109. Satbir
110. Salam





Kin of those killed in the November 1984 riots in a fury following the lt. governor's brusque visit to their Tilak Vihar settlement on Thursday. — TOI

THE TIMES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI, FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1990 11

## L-G's visit stokes 'riot victims' ire

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, July 12. RESIDENTS of Tilak Vihar in West Delhi, victims of the November '84 riots, are seething with anger. Sorrow at the loss of their near and dear ones six years ago has given way to anger that comes gushing forth in a torrent of angry words. And the Lt-governor, Mr Arjan Singh's visit to a school in the colony today merely helped strike the fire.

Soon after the lt-governor departed after watching a cultural programme in the school, the mood of the residents was one of

belligerence. They had gathered in the hope of pouring out their woes to the lt-governor. But it was not to be, as zealous policemen kept them at bay. Even as Mr Arjan Singh departed, angry residents crowded around the policemen.

GENERAL SENTIMENT They also directed their spleen at their "pradhans", who, according to them, had been using them for their own end. Asked Prem Kaur: "Is it we who are suffering, or our 'pradhans'?" Similar sentiments were expressed by others, who especially accused two persons of beheading them.

The womenfolk were particularly agitated as a number of them had taken leave today from schools where they are employed. Meeting him, however, contained a pipe dream for them. Even as Mr Arjan Singh announced a grant of Rs. 1 lakh for the setting up of a vocational training centre in Tilak Vihar, the riot victims complained they were getting no money from the government.

Those living in jhuggis were especially agitated for not being able to have a word with the lt-governor. Living in filthy condi-

tions, with flies swarming all over, the residents have resorted to complaint. And the rains have added to their misery with leaking roofs, and slushy pathways. Sand Dhillon Singh. "For the last six years we have been leading this hellish life, even animals do not have to live like this."

"Our children are dying from malaria and cholera and we have no medicines to give them", said Tirath Singh. "Bahut zyada pareshani hai" (we are facing a lot of problems) was how Mital Singh summed up the plight of Tilak Vihar residents.

Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

**BLOCK B-1**

- 111. Pal Brahman
- 112. Shambhu
- 113. Kheesamvaija
- 114. Kumar

**BLOCK C-3**

- 115. Gopal and brother
- 116. Tiwari
- 117. Raghubir and Bhangi
- 118. Pratap Bhangi
- 119. Vajuje

**BLOCK C-4**

- 120. Barji Lal and his son
- 121. Kala Ram and his two sons
- 122. Prem Singh Muchiwala, property dealer
- 123. Jai Kishen Bhangi
- 124. Danny
- 125. Pappu
- 126. Mohan Lal, son of Thekedar Komal

**BLOCK P-3**

- 127. Taar Chand, Carpenter
- 128. Master, kerosene shop-owner
- 129. Radhe Shyam, mechanic
- 130. Babu Lal, vegetable-seller
- 131. Sikander's brother
- 132. Gulab Singh, godow-owner

**MONGOL PURI**

- 133. Hardwari Lal, Mandal Pradhan

- 134. Narendra Singh, Congress (I) worker
- 135. Salim Quereshi, Congress (I) worker
- 136. Shaukeen, Congress (I) worker
- 137. Rajinder
- 138. Rajinder
- 139. Shiv Charan

**MAUJPUR, GHONDA**

- 140. Birno Joginer, kerosene shop owner
- 141. Trilok, flour mill-owner
- 142. Gupta, paper-seller
- 143. Delu Ram, tailor
- 144. Bhola Doodhwala
- 145. Balbir Dhoodhwala's son
- 146. Prem Nai
- 147. Gyan Malwai
- 148. Nagayan's son

**SHAKAR PUR**

- 150. Bhatia, Congress (I) worker
- 151. Dogra, Congress (I) worker
- 152. Singh, Congress I worker
- 153. Lakshmi dhoban
- 154. Aswani, Bharatiya Janata Party (PJP) worker
- 155. Satpal, hotel-owner



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar) Near Jantar Mantar Delhi

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

- 156. Ashok Kumar, flour mill-owner
- 157. Ram Niwas Sharma
- 158. Rohtas Singh of Shakarpur village

**KHAJURI KHAAS**

- 159. Kadam Singh, Panchayat Chief
- 160. Kadam Singh's nephews
- 161. Nambat Singh, ration shop owner
- 162. Sham Lal, retired assistant sub-inspector
- 163. Jai Singh, kerosene shop-owner
- 164. Jugnu
- 165. Parsa

**JANAKPURI**

- 166. Pratap, Chief of the village administrative body, Sagarpur, who is alleged to have killed 22 people

**BLOCK C**

- 167. Dabbu Bhangi
- 168. Kalia Bhangi
- 169. Upli Bhangi
- 170. Son Sassi
- 171. Mohan Sassi
- 173. Raju Bhangi
- 174. Malaram, who distributed kerosene oil free to the killers

**MANDAVALI-UNCHPUR**

- 175. Sachdeva, property-dealer
- 176. Raj Kalia, cement-seller
- 177. Gupta, grocery shop-owner
- 178. Ram Prakash, worker in a khadi shop
- 179. Dharampal
- 180. Kishen Dutt
- 181. Babu Das
- 182. Joshi
- 183. Joshi

**RAJNAGAR**

- 184. Balwan Khokar
- 185. Mohinder Singh Baragdola
- 186. Iswar Chand Sharma
- 187. Pandit Ram Niwas
- 188. Pandit Tara Chand

**SADAR BAZAR**

- 189. Kamal Dhobi
- 190. David, son of the Dhobi
- 191. Vinayak and his family members

**AZAADPUR  
INDUSTRIAL AREA.**

- 192. T S edi, factory owner



HUNDRED OF WIDOWS DEMONSTRATING AGAINST THE KILLERS OF  
NOV. 1984 CARNAGE

## **A LIST OF THE GUILTY**

### ***POLITICIANS***

*This list includes people who instigated violence and later protected the criminals*

**H K L BHAGAT, Information and Broadcasting Minister.**

It is learnt that he influenced the decision to release some mobsters from the Shahadra Police station on November 5.

**BABURAM SHARMA, Municipal Corporation Member (Ward No. 58 )**

He is a confidant of Mr. Bhagat's. The allegations against him are : He led the violent mob on a motorbike and mike in hand and is responsible for killings in Baabarpur, Chajupur, Maujpur and Ghonda in East Delhi.

**SAJJAN KUMAR, Congress (I) MP**

It is alleged that he gave a hundred rupees and a liquor bottle each to the killers.

**LALIT MAKEN, Congress (I) Party Trade Union Leader and Metropolitan Councillor.**

It is alleged that he distributed money and liquor bottles to the mob and an Ambassador car, said to be his, was seen at Azadpur on Grand Trunk road four times during the violence and the mobs were given instructions by the car occupants.

**DHARAMDAS SHASTRI, Congress (I) MP from Karol Bagh.**

He is alleged to have provided the list of Sikh houses and shops with electoral rolls as the source. According to press reports of November 5, 1984, he is also alleged to have pressurised police officials in Karol Bagh police station to release from custody those arrested for the anti-sikh violence.

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Chaudhary Ajit Singh Former Union Minister of India and Son of great National leader Chaudhary Charan Singh addressing the Public rally at Boat Club against the killers of innocent people Nov. 84

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

**JAGDISH TYTLER, *Congress (I) MP.***

He intruded into a press conference of the Police Commissioner, Mr. S C Tondon, on November 6 and told him, by arresting my men you are obstructing the relief work for the victims).

**MAHENDRA SINGH, *Metropolitan Councillor.***

It is alleged that he, alongwith Dharamadas Shastri, was seen going around with electoral rolls (used to identify Sikh houses) in Prakashnagar.

**MANGATRAM SINGAL, *Municipal Corporation Member, (Ward No. 32)***

He is alleged to have been in the company of Dharmadas Shastri during the violence.

**Dr. ASHOK KUMAR, *Municipal Corporation Member, Kalyanpuri.***

It is alleged that violence was sparked off after he held a meeting with Congress workers and supporters and that he was leading the crowd which indulged in large scale violence, including, killing, burning, looting and gang-rape of women.

**SUKHANLAL SOOD, *Metropolitan Councillor.***

Eye witness accounts allege that he led the violent mob and that he brought lists of Sikh houses and petrol (used to burn Sikhs alive) to the scene of violence. Later, when he went to the Shakarpur relief camp to distribute food AND sweets to the survivors, some women recognised him and had him chased out of the camp.

**JAGDISH CHANDER TOKAS, *Municipal Corporation Member, Munirka, Ward No. 14.***

He is alleged to have led the violent mob in Sector 4 and 5 of R K Puram.

**ISWAR SINGH, *Municipal Corporation Member. Mongolpuri, Ward 37.***

He is alleged to have led the violent mob in Mongolpuri.

**BALWANT KHOKAR, *Youth Congress (I) Leader, Delhi.***





Mr. V.P. Singh Former Prime Minister of India met Mr. Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar (Autor of This book ) and appeal to Mr. Babbar call off indefinit hunger strike for the interest of Nation.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

He is alleged to have instigated the violent mob in Palam Colony.

**FAIZ MOHAMMED, *Youth Congress (I) Leader, Delhi.***

Survivors in the Shakarpur relief camp and residents of Mongolpuri say that he was directly involved in the violence.

**RATAN, *Delhi Youth Congress (I) Leader.***

He is alleged to have been directly involved in the Palam Colony violence.

**SATBIR SINGH, *Youth Congress (I) member.***

He is alleged to have brought a busload of criminals to Guru Harkishen School in Munirka and participated in looting and burning the school down.

## ***POLICE***

***This list includes police officials who ignored their duty, instigated violence and were directly involved in it.***

**MALHOTRA., *Assistant Commissioner Police East Delhi***

He is alleged to have called the mob to the police station and told it that It “should have demolished the gurudwara as well (the mob killed.....? Bhatia, a Sikh Congress worker). Besides, Malhotra is alleged to have accompanied the mob to the scene of violence. He was in a jeep, armed with a revolver, accompanied by two sten-gun wielding cops. Following him were two station wagons in which cans of petrol were kept. He is said to have handed over weapons to the mob and instigated the mob that came to the police station from Gurunangal Nagar and Lakshminagar.

**JAI SINGH, *SHO.***

He is alleged to have told the mobs that they “have three days to kill and loot, free for all.”

STATESMAN

## r'ous will never be held in Punjab'

By a Staff Reporter

**T**HE All India Sikh Conference, which is being held at Lahore, has decided that elections will never be held in Punjab. The Conference, which is being held at Lahore, has decided that elections will never be held in Punjab. The Conference, which is being held at Lahore, has decided that elections will never be held in Punjab.

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THE STATESMAN THURSDAY JANUARY 8 1988 7

## POLLS:

(Continued from page 1)  
sacrificed a big segment from the Sikh state. How could the security personnel, checking these going in to be to defeat the AS-43s and the other not-so-Sarkar's that were supposedly armed during Army action? he asked.

The return was in favour of an independent Sikh state. The Government, which had been established on the basis of the Sikh state, is now in a position to have a say in the Government of India. The Government of India, which had been established on the basis of the Sikh state, is now in a position to have a say in the Government of India.

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Mr. Gurmehar Singh Bhambra, general secretary of the All-India Sikh Conference (Bhambra), at a Press conference in Calcutta on Wednesday. — The Statesman.

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

**RAVRAM MEHAR, SHO, Shakarpur.**

He is alleged to have identified Sikh houses and shops.

**HARIRAM BHATTI, SHO, Sultanpuri.**

He is alleged to have disarmed Sikhs of their small weapons of defence and On November 2, personally killed some Sikhs. Also, on November 3 and 4, he made Sikh men cut their hair on gunpoint.

**ROHTAS SINGH, SHO, Sadar.**

He is alleged to have personally indulged in burning down Sikh houses.

**SHHORVIR SINGH, SHO, Kalyanpuri.**

He reached Trilokpuri at 2.30 p.m. on November 1 when violence was on, is alleged to have ordered two constables on duty there to go away, thus giving the mob a free hand at violence.

**R D SINGH, Sub-Inspector, Durgapuri.**

According to survivors in the Loni Road, Gurudwara relief camp, Singh instigated the mob and personally beat to death some Sikhs.

**SHO, R.K. Puram and Constable on duty.**

When people from Sector 4 asked the duo for help to save a Sikh family in their area are alleged to have denied help and goes on to say, "Sikhs should be finished."

*Following is a list of police officials who instigated and participated in the violence in the areas under their control.*

**TYAGI, SHO, Trilokpuri**

**RANA, Inspector, Trilokpuri**

**MOOLCHAND, Sub-Inspector, Trilokpuri**

**BAKSHI, Assistant Sub-Inspector, Trilokpuri**

**RAJVIR SINGH, Head Constable, Kalyanpuri (posted in Trilokpuri)**



Victims of the 1984 killings on an indefinite sit-in at Boat Club to demand the restoration of their pensions. —TOI

## 1984 riot victims on sit-in at Boat Club

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, September 15. Is it a case of red-tapism or official harassment? About 30 elderly Sikh men and women, most of them residents of Tikka Vihar, are on a sit-in at the Boat Club because their pension has been "arbitrarily stopped" by the district commissioner's office. While the authorities have a legal explanation for it, some Sikh activists see the step as another way of harassing these people — many of whom had reportedly filed cases against "top officials" for participating in the 1984 killings.

These elderly persons were the recipients of a Rs 1,000 per month pension given to people who had lost their family members in the 1984 massacre. All of them are in their sixties and all have tales of woe to narrate. Says Mrs Mohali Kaur, "I lost two sons in 1984. I was left behind with five grandchildren. I need this pension to survive. If the government can return my dead sons to me, then I won't ask for any pension".

Explains Mr Sagru Singh, "We were given these pensions after five years of promise when V.P. Singh came into power. But we received it only for two years. Suddenly, the pensions were discontinued last year. We were shown no order and given no prior information. When

ration does not eat much ice with Mrs S. Kaur who lost a son in 1984. "They can cut off my pension, but can they return my son to me?" she asks. And what if the surviving sons of these pensioners are unable or unwilling to support their parents? Mr Verman recognises this probability. But he sets out the official view in plain words. He explains, "The decision is based on the Hindu tradition where grown-up sons are expected to support their parents. If we make exceptions in some cases, we will get a lot of claims even by people who are really being supported by their children". Evidently, in these days of economic restructuring, the government does not want to spend more than it has to.

The deprived pensioners claim that very often their surviving sons are not properly employed. Moreover, points out one wounded old Sikh, even when they earn something, they do not earn enough to feed the entire family. Mr Gurbhans Singh Bahbar of the All India Sikh Conference (Bahbar) claims that there have been "at least five deaths due to lack of food or money to buy clothing and medicines since the pensions were cut off". While these deaths have probably been due to old age, the

**'HARASSED BY POLICE':** Mr Bahbar also alleges that the pensioners are being harassed by "men from different police agencies" who keep visiting them at odd hours. He states that many of these pensioners had filed cases against top police officers who were allegedly involved in the 1984 killings and adds that one such police officer occupies a senior post in the area. He also claims that while these 1984 riot victims have been deprived of their pension, they are also being threatened with eviction by the authorities. Some of the pensioners complain they are being sent "inflamed electric and water bills running up to Rs 12,000".

The young men of such families in Tikka Vihar, all of whom can recall the loss of at least one near relative, present a disturbing picture. They often lack the education or the vocational training that can help them find decent jobs. Living in poverty, they seem to have very little faith in the "system that has let the murderers of 1984 escape unpunished while the victims continue to be persecuted economically". Such despair and anger leave them open to criminal influences and subversive ideas. As Mr Bahbar points out, "The apathy and neglect of the government creates more militants than all the training centres of Pakistan".

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## LIST OF RELIEF CAMPS

1. Model School No. 1 & 2,  
Alipur Road.
2. Central High School  
(Near to Shyamlal College), Shadara
3. Police Station, Frash Bazaar
4. Police Station, Gandhi Nagar
5. Central High School, Opp. Radhu Cinemma,  
Near Police Station, Shakarpur
6. Bhai Mota Singh School 'A' Block, Janakpuri
7. Central High School, Shakurpur, Rani Bagh
8. Central Girls High School, Sakurpur
9. Police Station, Sabhji Mandi
10. Police Station, Sadar Bazaar
11. Bala Sahib Gurudawara
12. Nanaksar Ashram
13. Durgapur Gurudawara
14. Jyothi Nagar Gurudwara





SIKH POLICE OFFICER MR. KHARAK SINGH VERY HUMBLY RECEIVED  
ANGRY RIOT WIDOWS ( NOV. 84) PROCESSION NEAR PARLIAMENT DELHI

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

15. Baba Banda Singh Gurudawara
16. Tele wada Gurudawara
17. Hari Nager Gurudawara
18. Fathe Nager Gurudawara
19. Air Force Station Gurudawara, Subathro Park
20. Sadar Bazaar Gurudwara, Delhi Gate
21. Gurudawara Shri Guru Singh Sabha,  
Jangpura Extn.
22. Panchsheel Park Gurudawara
23. Pishori Gurudawara, Tilak Nager
24. Pandav Nager Gurudawara
25. Open Sultanpuri Camp
26. Vinod Nagar Area, Parpad Ganj
27. Hansraj Model School Camp, Krishna Nagar
28. Kayanpuri 13 Block
29. Sambhu Dayal College, Ghaziabad
30. Singh Sabha Gurudawara, Gurgaon

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Large Number of Carnage Victim Sikh families protesting near India Gate New Delhi for justice

## DELHI POLICE : A DEN OF CRIMINALS

*It is absolutely shocking that even those police officials, who were found guilty by the various government-appointed commissions of inquiry, are still prowling free. The Delhi Police's own Riot Cell also found 72 officials guilty but no action has been taken against any one of them. Even more shocking than the fact that no action has been taken against these officials, is the promotions given to many of them. Have they been rewarded for their crimes or what?*

*The most sordid stories of violence reported by Sikh families from some of the worst-affected colonies, including, Trilokpuri, Mongolpuri, Nangloi, Sultanpuri, Sagarpur and many areas of east Delhi, were the result of the participation of some police officials. The violence in the areas under their control was better-organised and more grotesque. In Trilokpuri, for instance, police officials personally presided over the killings of 700 Sikhs in one day. For three long days, the colony looked like a bazaar of a corpses. No police official even cared to remove the dead bodies. What is more, some police officials alleged to have indulged in the anti-Sikh violence, were given awards for gallantry by the President of India in 1997. If these shocking facts do not prove that the violence was well-planned and organised, nothing else will.*

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage

We are surprised to note that the Delhi Police has listed Mr. Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar) as a "Wanted Person". There is no Police case against him nor have warrants been issued. Moreover, he has not absconded nor has he been proclaimed as such.

Mr. Babbar has made a notable constructive contribution in restoring the faith of the Sikh community, badly shaken due to anti-Sikh riots of Nov. '84, in the democratic and secular polity of the country. He has devotedly worked for strengthening the unity and integrity of the country taking all sections of the people into confidence.

The move to declare him as a Wanted Person is a malicious, dubious and pernicious political method of the Congress(I) to pressurise, coerce and oppress political opponents and we strongly condemn the act and demand its withdrawal forthwith.

Manela Gandhi  
3100005  
Aswamb  
(R-S. NARULA)

Ant P.D.  
Rajinder Singh Vohra  
Jagjit Singh Anand MP Rajya Sabha  
Secretary - P. L. Chaudhary  
EX-M.P.  
Jammu & Kashmir

Kuldeep Nagra  
P. Upendra MP  
Syed Shahid Hussain  
H. (L.S.)

L. K. Advani  
H.P.

Amrinder Singh  
A. B. Vajpayee MP  
SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHARY EX-M.P.

J. K. Guptail  
Saifuddin Choudhury

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

No. 7(904)/85-PM



प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
नई दिल्ली 110 001  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
NEW DELHI 110 001


November 8, 1985

R. VASUDEVAN  
Joint Secretary

Dear Shri Babbar,

Kindly refer to your letter dated  
2nd November, 1985 addressed to PM on  
behalf of the All India Sikh Conference.  
L.G. Delhi has been requested to have the  
matter looked into on a priority basis. You  
may also kindly get in touch with him to  
explain the problems.

Yours sincerely,

  
(R. Vasudevan)

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
Convener,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
Gurudwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha,  
Outram Line, G.T.B. Nagar,  
DELHI - 110 009



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

Rajni Kothari

G-1/10, Lajpat Nagar  
New Delhi-110024  
Phone: 231190  
2517131 / (Off)

Date 3/12/92

Dear Pancharan Singh ji:

I was shocked to learn from your letter dated Nov. 11, '92 both on the withdrawal of security provided to you as well as the attempt that was made to kidnap and physically harm you in the Mangolpuri area - but that the case registered in the FIR has not been investigated.

Your increased vulnerability is certainly a cause for concern. But shouldn't you be thinking again about the faith you had earlier reposed in the ISI? - your assurance of their bona fides etc.

Shri  
Pancharan  
Singh  
Bachan

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

सैयद शहाबुद्दीन  
संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



14, जन पथ,  
नई दिल्ली-110001  
फोन : 384654/384746

Dated: 12-8-88

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you for your letter of the  
10th August, 1988. I am sorry I could  
not be present at the Boat Club to  
receive the memorandum. I would be  
grateful if you kindly send me a copy.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(S. SHAHABUDDIN)

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi-9.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

GEORGE FERNANDES

Phone : 66 83 73  
6/105 Kaushalya Park  
Hauz Khas  
New Delhi 110016


August 8, 1988.

Dear Mr.Babbar,

Your letter of August 1. I share your agony and anxiety over the Punjab situation. In the prevailing situation I doubt if any person outside of the government can really do much to resolve the Punjab crisis. Only in the defeat the Congress-I in the country and the installation of a non-Congress government will any genuine initiative be possible.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
George Fernandes

Mr.G.S.Babbar  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar,  
Delhi-110 009.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

सैयद शहाबुद्दीन  
संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



14, जन पथ,  
नई दिल्ली-110001  
फोन : 384654/384746

13.11.92

Dear Shri Chavan,

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference ( Babbar ) has drawn my  
attention to the withdrawal of his PSO on your  
instructions. This would restrict his free movement  
and the activities of his organisation which is  
playing a useful role.

Since an attempt was made to kidnap and  
physically harm him as recently as 9 March, 1992.  
I would request you to restore his PSO.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(SYED SHAHABUDDIN )

Shri S. B. Chavan,  
Minister of Home Affairs,  
Govt. of India,  
New Delhi.

Mr. G. S. Babbar, New Delhi

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

SYED SHAHABUDDIN  
Member of Parliament  
(Lok Sabha)



Tel. : 384746  
14, Janpath,  
New Delhi-110001

05-10-1988

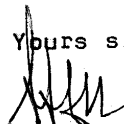
Dear Shri Babbar,

I appreciate your moral gesture in undertaking an indefinite fast to highlight the sense of insecurity in the Sikh community all over the country, highlighted by the recent communal incidents in Bidar (Karnataka). There is no doubt that the failure to punish the culprits of November, 1984 carnage and the general callousness towards social violence in the country have contributed to the present sense of insecurity. The problem is not limited to the Sikh community alone, but covers other minorities as well as other depressed sections of the nation such as, Harijans and the Tribals.

I, therefore, feel that the matter should be taken up by all communities as an endeavour to save the nation from discrimination and fratricide. I, therefore, on one hand, appeal to you to break your fast as well as assure you of my solidarity and cooperation in promoting the common cause of the physical security as well as dignity and equality of the minority communities and weaker sections all over the country. I have no doubt that together we can assert our right to security, equality and dignity.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
( SYED SHAHABUDDIN )

Shri G.S. Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar,  
DELHI-110 009.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

RAM JETHMALANI,  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



11, Harishchander Mathur Lane,  
New Delhi-110 001,  
October 14, 1988.

Dear Mr. Babbar,

From the newspaper reports I have learnt that you went on hunger strike regarding the tragic events of Bidar (Karnataka). While I fully appreciate your sentiments and will gladly participate in any effort to undo the wrong, I must draw your attention to something even more important, ie. the threatened execution of Kehar Singh, one of the accused in the Indira Gandhi murder case. I regard him as innocent and his execution will be a case of judicial murder. I am wondering why the Sikh community is totally silent on that issue? I am also wondering why you are silent on that issue?

I have to request you urgently to stir yourself and your workers and bring pressure to bear upon the government and the President before the innocent man is hanged.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Ram Jethmalani*  
(RAM JETHMALANI)

To

Mr. Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
N-31, Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-9.



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

GEORGE FERNANDES

Bangalore  
Nov 7, '88

Phone : 66 83 73  
6/105 Kaushalya Park  
Hauz Khas  
New Delhi 110016

Dear Mr. Babbar,

I saw you letter & the card last night on returning from Bihar & as you can see am now in the South. Needless to say, I wish your programmes every success.

One person whose contribution during Nov '84 seems to have escaped your notice is Ms Jaya Jaitly. I think she, more than most people, provides strength and succour to the afflicted at great personal sacrifice.

Best wishes

Yr Lg

George Fernandes

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

P. UPENDRA  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)  
Leader, Telugu Desam  
Party in Parliament.



77, Lodi Estate,  
New Delhi  
June 21, 1989

Dear Shri Vijay Karan,

I send herewith a copy of the letter dated June 3, 1989 addressed to you by Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Delhi complaining about some threats meted out to him. I would request you to take appropriate action in the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*P. Upendra*  
( P. UPENDRA )

Encl : As above

Shri Vijay Karan,  
Commissioner of Police,  
Police Headquarters,  
New Delhi.

Copy to : - Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference  
(Babbar) N-31, Mukerji Nagar, Delhi - 9

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

SYED SHAHABUDDIN, M.P.

سید شاہاب الدین، سب سے

ایڈووکیٹ، نئی دہلی



14, Janpath,  
New Delhi-110001  
Phone : 384654

18.8.1989

Dear Shri Buta Singh,

May I draw your attention to the handbill issued by the Delhi Police declaring Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Delhi as a 'Wanted' person. In view of the fact that there is no case pending against him, no warrants have been issued against, nor has he been declared a proclaimed absconder and taking into account the fact that he has been involved in the welfare of the victims of the October, 1984 disturbances and in that connection had the honour by the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, yourself as well as the Governor of Delhi, such a publication is indeed shocking to my legal and moral conscience.

I would be grateful if you would kindly have this handbill withdrawn and let me know the circumstances in which it was issued.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

( SYED SHAHABUDDIN )

Shri Buta Singh,  
Minister of Home,  
Govt. of India,

NEW DELHI.

Copy to: Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar, Delhi-110009.

( SYED SHAHABUDDIN )

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

**P. UPENDRA**  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)  
Leader, Telugu Desam  
Party In Parliament.



77, Lodi Estate,  
New Delhi.  
October 31, 1988

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you for your letter dated October  
28, 1988.

I will try to address your gathering  
on November 4, 1988 at the Boat Club. In case  
I am held up in Parliament, one of the MPs of  
our party will meet all of you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*P. Upendra*  
( P. UPENDRA )

Shri Gurnaran Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi - 110 009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

सैयद शहाबुद्दीन  
संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



14, जन पथ,  
नई दिल्ली-110001  
फोन : 384654/384746

21.6.89

My dear Shri Vijay Karan,

I have received a letter from Shri H.S.Giani and Shri G.S.Babbar, Chairman and General Secretary, respectively of the All India Sikh Conference Delhi, that when they approached you to draw your attention to the threats received by them, they did not receive due response.

May I request you to kindly deal with the threats against them seriously and take necessary precautionary measures in view of the fact that in their campaign for securing justice to the sufferers of the Delhi riots in October November, 1984, They have incurred the hostility of many highly placed persons.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

( SYED SHAHABUDDIN )

Shri Vijay Karan,  
Commissioner of Police,  
New Delhi.

cc: Shri H.S.Giani.

*Amirul AISC*

*N-31 Mukherji Nagar*

*Delhi 110009*

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

Phones : 3713330  
3713363

## **SAMAJWADI JANATA PARTY**

16, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road,  
New Delhi - 110001


November 7, 1994.

Dear Shri Gurcharan Babbar,

I could receive your letter of 28th October, 1994 only today informing me of a big congregation from 2nd November to 6th November, 1994 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the crucification of over 5000 innocents brutally done to death in the year 1984 and demanding punishments to the guilty. I fully support your cause that the Government should hold speedy trials and give justice to the victims of the 1984 riots.

With regards,

Yours Sincerely,

  
(CHANDRA SHEKHAR)

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference  
(Babbar)  
N-31, Dr. Mukherjee Nagar,  
DELHI-110009.



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

SAMAR MUKHERJEE

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



Phones: 384806  
3782218  
Office: 12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi.

S. DUTTA  
JOINT SECRETARY  
Tel.No. 3014979

D.O.No.U. 14035/ 17 1/90-Delhi  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI  
the 1st Nov 1990.

Dear Shri Mukherjee,

Kindly refer to your letter dated 12.9.1990 to the Prime Minister regarding 1984 riots in Delhi.

2. I am desired to inform you that the Government set up 3 exclusive special Courts in January this year to ensure speedy action against those responsible for 1984 riots in Delhi,. Besides, the Delhi Administration appointed on 22nd March, 1990, a Committee consisting of Shri P. Subramonian Poti, retired Chief Justice of Gujarat High Court as Chairman and Shri P.A. Roshia, retired officer of the Indian Police Service as Member, to recommend to the Administrator, where necessary, registration of cases and their investigations.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/-

( S. DUTTA)

Shri Samar Mukherjee,  
M.P.  
12 Windsor Place,  
NEW DELHI.

No. SM/ 3798/F-1/90

Dt. 7-11-1990

cc Sh. Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secy All India Sikh  
Conference, N-31, Mukherjee Nagar, DELHI-110009

(SAMAR MUKHERJEE)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

बैकुंठ लाल शर्मा 'प्रेम'

संसद सदस्य

173, नार्थ एवेन्यू, नई दिल्ली-110001

फोन : 3792376



B. L. Sharma 'Prem'

Member of Parliament

173, North Avenue, New Delhi-110 001

Tel. : 3792376

क्रमांक

BLSP/51658/92

Ref. :

दिनांक

Date 25.3.1992

Dear Shri Chavan,

Namaskar,

Please find enclosed a copy of letter dated the 20th March, 1992 sent to me by the All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Mukerji Nagar, Delhi, for appropriate action.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
(B.L.SHARMA 'PREM')

Shri S.B.Chavan,  
Minister of Home Affairs,  
Govt. of India,  
New Delhi.

CC to :-

The Chairman,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi-110 009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

Founder : JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

**people's union for civil liberties**

V. M. TARKUNDE  
Advisor

B-17, Maharani Bagh  
New Delhi - 110065  
Phone : 6835048

Aug. 19, 1989.

President : Rajinder Sachar  
Vice-Presidents : Aloo Dastur  
Asghar Ali Engineer  
K. G. Kannabiran  
Nayan Tara Sehgal  
General Secretaries : Dalip S. Swami  
Yash Pal Chhibbar  
Organising Secretaries : Balbir Singh Saini  
Henri Tiphagne  
P. K. Bal  
Executive Secretary : N. Kotishwar Singh

To

Shri Vijay Karan  
Commissioner of Police  
Police Headquarters  
Indraprastha Estates  
New Delhi - 110 002.

Dear Shri Vijay Karan,

I was greatly surprised to learn that the police have issued a handbill in which a photograph of Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar has been published as a "wanted" person. Such a publication is highly defamatory because it implies that Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar has committed some serious offence and that he is absconding in order to avoid apprehension by the police. To my knowledge, Gurcharan Singh Babbar has never been absconding and there was no justification whatever for publishing his photograph as a "wanted" person.

I have therefore to request you to kindly withdraw the handbill and also give due publicity to the fact that Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar has not been absconded and is not a "wanted" person.

Kindly send me a line in reply.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

( V.M. Tarkunde )

✓ Copy to: Shri Gurcharan Singh  
Babbar,  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar,  
Delhi-110 009.

*V. M. Tarkunde*

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

**Maneka Gandhi**

A-4, MAHARANI BAGH,  
NEW DELHI - 110 065

Dear Shri Babbar,  
I am sorry I cannot  
attend the Bhog of Shri  
Ranjit Singh. I feel  
deeply for his parents.  
Unfortunately I am not  
well. As soon as I feel  
better I will come to  
see them.

Maneka Gandhi.  
9/7/89

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

GEORGE FERNANDES

Phone : 66 83 73  
6/105 Kaushalya Park  
Hauz Khas  
New Delhi 110016

March 18, '92

Dear Gurcharan,

Yours of  
March 12 along  
with the enclosure.  
I have taken  
up the matter  
with the Home  
Minister.

Best wishes.  
Gur

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



NO.V.2587/90.HMP

HOME MINISTER  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI 110001

13 JUL 1990.

Dear Shri Acharya,

I have received your letter dated 28th June, 1990 enclosing copies of communications addressed to the Addl. Commissioner of Police (Admn), Delhi Police from Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Delhi regarding alleged threats being received by him. I am having the matter looked into.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

sd/-

(Mufti Mohammed Sayeed)

Shri Basudev Acharya, MP,  
12, Windsor Place,  
NEW DELHI.



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

**कालका दास**

संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



दूरभाष : 5751990

1665, नाईवाला, गली नं० 35,  
करोल बाग, नई दिल्ली - 5

क्रमांक 663/10/1870

दिनांक 12-7-90

Dear Shri Singh,

I am enclosing herewith two representation in  
from Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar N-31, Mukerji Nagar New Delhi  
requesting for justice to Sikh community of Delhi.

I shall be thankful if you kindly look into the  
matter and do the needful.

With regards,

Yours Sincerely

sd/-  
( KALKA DASS)

Sh. Arjan Singh  
Lt. Governor Delhi  
Raj Niwas Delhi-54

✓ Copy to Sh. Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar  
Delhi

( KALKA DASS)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



कृषि भवन, नई दिल्ली  
Krishi Bhawan, New Delhi

क्रम संख्या

W/C No.....  
W.C. No. 711 / Dy. PM & AM/90  
दिनांक  
Dated 15-2-90

भारत सरकार के उप प्रधान मंत्री के  
निजी सचिव  
की सद्भावनाओं सहित प्रेषित

*Forwarded with the compliments of  
Private Secretary to the  
Deputy Prime Minister  
Government of India  
New Delhi*

सेवा में

To

The PS to Home Minister,

Govt. of India, New Delhi.

प्रेषित पत्र

*Papers Forwarded :-*

Letter from Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, Gen. Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), N-31, Mukerji Nagar, Delhi-110009 regarding enquiry into his whole affair by an independent agency as suggested by Addl. Commissioner of Police, for appropriate and necessary action

Copy to Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

वीरेन्द्र वर्मा  
(एम० पी०)



दूरभाष : 384090  
12, ताल कटोरा रोड,  
नई दिल्ली - 110001

क्रम० सं०

दिनांक September 8, 88

Dear Shri Buta Singh,

Kindly find herewith a copy of the complaint made by Shri Gurcharan Singh Barbbbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference, to the Commissioner of Police, New Delhi, which is self-explanatory.

Shri Singh, while alleging that he is being threatened and harassed by the persons involved in November, 1984 riots in Delhi, has complained that no action on his complaint has been taken by the Commissioner of Police.

If what has been stated by Shri Singh is true, you will agree with me that on a complaint of such a serious nature made by a citizen it becomes incumbent on the authorities concerned to inquire into the matter and if the facts are established, to provide necessary protection to the person concerned from such elements irrespective of their political affiliation or influence.

In this connection it would not be out of context to say that action against the persons involved in 1984 riots should be taken without further delay on the basis of the Ranganathan Mishra Commission's recommendations.

I am bringing the matter to your notice and hope that it will receive your personal attention for such action as may be deemed necessary under the circumstances.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
*Virendra Verma*  
(VIRENDRA VERMA)

Shri Buta Singh  
Minister of Home Affairs  
Govt. of India  
NEW DELHI.

CC: Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, Gen. Secy.  
All India Sikh Conference, N-31, Mukherjee Nagar.

*Home*

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



Director

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
नई दिल्ली - 110011  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
NEW DELHI - 110011.

March 18, 1986

14.3.86 8217

Dear Sir,

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt  
of your letter dated March 12, 1986, addressed  
to the Prime Minister.

Yours faithfully,

(H.C. Bakshi)

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
Convener,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
Gurudwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha,  
Outram Liné, G.R.B. Nagar,  
Delhi-110009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage



George Fernandes

MR/T/147/90

रेल मंत्री, भारत  
Minister For Railways  
India

New Delhi

Dec. 31, 1989.

Dear Shri Singh,

I am in receipt of your letter and have taken note of the issues raised by you.

Wishing you a very happy new year,

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE FERNANDES

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

No. 47(4)/90-RN/614/3028

उपराज्यपाल  
दिल्ली  
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR  
DELHI



राज निवास  
दिल्ली-११००५४  
RAJ NIWAS  
DELHI-110054

February 22, 1990.

26

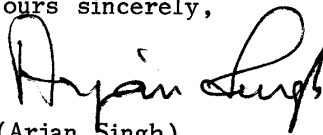
Dear Justice Narula,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 13th  
February, 1990 regarding the case of Shri S.  
Gurcharan Singh Babbar.

I am having the matter looked into.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
(Arjan Singh)

Mr. Justice R.S. Narula,  
Retire Chief Justice,  
C-215, Defence Colony,  
New Delhi-110024.



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

BASUDEV ACHARYA  
Member of Parliament  
(Lok Sabha)



Phone: 384806  
3785957  
12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi-110001

Chairman,  
Committee on Public Undertakings  
BA/1319/P-20/90

28-6-1990

My dear Mufti Sahab,

Enclosed herewith copies of communications addressed to the Addl. Commissioner of Police (Adm n) Delhi Police Hdqrs, New Delhi from Sh. Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Delhi.

He has been complaining that he is being threatened with dire consequences due to his consistent demand for action against culprits responsible for Nov '84 riots in Delhi. Unfortunately the police are not taking any action on his complaints. His plea for a meeting with the Police Commissioner was also not conceded. All these have given credence to his fears that police are acting on the behest of the culprits.

However, I request you to kindly cause a thorough investigation into Shri Babbar's case.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Encl-as above.

Shrimufti Mohammed Sayeed,  
Minister of Home Affairs,  
Govt. of India,  
New Delhi.

Sd/-  
(BASUDEV ACHARYA)

cc Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
Genl. Secy  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar, Delhi-110009

(BASUDEV ACHARYA)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



No. 3415 M (T)/APS/90  
मं (द)/ए.पी.एस./90  
अपर निजी सचिव

वरुन मन्त्री

भारत

नई दिल्ली-110011

ADDL. PRIVATE SECRETARY TO  
MINISTER OF TEXTILES  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI-110011

11.7.90  
जून, 1990

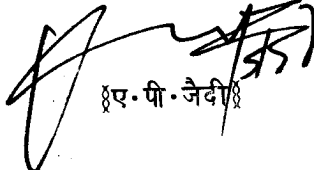
प्रिय श्री गुरुचरण सिंह,

माननीय वरुन एवं खाद्य संस्करण उद्योग  
मंत्री श्री शरद यादव को सम्बोधित आवेदन पत्र श्री  
विजय करण, दिल्ली पुलिस आयुक्त, दिल्ली को न्यायपूर्ण  
शीघ्र समूचित कार्यवाही के लिए भेज दिया गया है।

समय-समय पर गतिविधियों से अवगत  
करवाते रहा करे।

सधन्यवाद,

आपका,

  
॥ ए. पी. जैदी ॥

श्री गुरुचरण सिंह ~~बब्बर~~,  
बब्बर,

एन-31 मुकजी नगर, दिल्ली

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
DOORDARSHAN KENDRA : NEW DELHI

.....

NO.NR/13/85 / 4599

12/4/85  
Dated 10.4.85

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
Convener,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
Gurudwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha,  
Outram Line, G.T.B. Nagar,  
Delhi-110009.

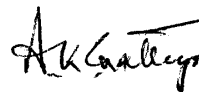
Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter No.AISC/1668 of March 31. Doordarshan aims at a fair and balanced presentation of news items. Doordarshan is guided solely by news value of an item<sup>and</sup> there is no effort at discrimination. We have noted your criticism and we respect all views even though we may not agree with them.

Incidentally the news item stated to have been enclosed to your letter was not received here. We, therefore, could not take a decision about its news value.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,



(A.K.CHATTERJEE)  
CHIEF EDITOR (NEWS)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

प्रधान मन्त्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

नई दिल्ली-110011  
NEW DELHI-110011

AUG 1988

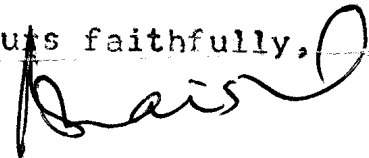
No.1/3 /88-PMP-I

(In all replies, please quote  
this letter number and date)

Dear Sir/~~Mackam~~,

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt  
of your letter dated 03.08.1988 to the Prime  
Minister and to say that it is being forwarded  
for appropriate action to the Lt. Governor of  
Delhi.

Yours faithfully,



Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar (B.P. KAISTHA)  
General Secretary, Section Officer  
All India Sikh Conference  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar,  
DELHI - 110 009.

**मदन लाल खुराना**

संसद सदस्य (लोक सभा)  
अखिल भारतीय मन्त्री  
भारतीय जनता पार्टी



Do. 4275/MPN/92

फोन: 594445  
533096

एफ-104, कीर्ति नगर  
नई दिल्ली-110 015

Dated 6-4-1992.

Dear Shri Markandey Singh Ji,

I am forwarding herewith a representation from S. Harjit Singh, Chairman, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), N-31, Mukherji Nagar, Delhi-9 regarding constant threat to him as well as to S. Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary and S. Jasbir Singh Secretary from the elements involved with Nov.' 84 riots. The representation is self-explanatory.

I shall be grateful if you kindly alert the concerned authorities to afford them adequate protection for the safety of their lives.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
(MADAN LAL KHURANA)

Shri Markandey Singh,  
Lt. Governor of Delhi,  
Delhi.

Copy forwarded for necessary information to:- Shri Harjit Singh, N-31, Mukherji Nagar, Delhi-110009.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



3012692  
3019080  
Phones : 3019762  
3019601  
Off. L.E. : 61 10 89  
N.C.U.I. : 66 51 46  
Res. : 3017206  
3017156

## ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE (I)

24, AKBAR ROAD, NEW DELHI - 110 011.

DILIP SINGH BHURIA, M.P.  
Joint Secretary

58, Lodhi Estate,  
New Delhi - 110003

Dated the 6th April, 1989

Respected Shri Bhandari ji,

I am enclosing herewith a letter dated 5th April, 1989 of Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar) N-31, Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi regarding the problems of victims of Nov. 84 carnage.

Shri Babbar had met with the Hon'ble Prime Minister, yesterday requesting to solve the problems mentioned in their memorandum, immediately.

I would request you to kindly enquire into the matter personally and do the needful. I shall be grateful if you could kindly send me a report of this case for the information of the hon'ble Prime Minister.

With kind regards,

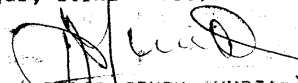
Yours sincerely,

Encl: As above

( DILIP SINGH BHURIA )

Shri Romesh Bhandari,  
Lt. Governor Delhi,  
Raj Niwas,  
Delhi

No. 227/AICC/PM/89 Dt. 7/4/89  
✓ Copy to Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secy.  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), N-31,  
Mukherji Nagar, Delhi-110009

  
( DILIP SINGH BHURIA )



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

Member of Parliament  
(Lok Sabha)



(TRUE COPY)

S. DUTTA  
JOINT SECRETARY

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-- 110001.

D.O.NO. 14035/10(230)/90-UTP

July 31, 1990.

17 August

Dear Shri Acharya,

Kindly refer to your letter dated the 28th June, 1990 regarding alleged threats received by Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference, Delhi.

2. We have forwarded a copy of your letter to the Chief Secretary, Delhi Administration for appropriate action. He has also been requested to inform you about the action taken.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

( S. DUTTA )

Shri Basudev Acharya,  
Member of Parliament,  
12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi - 110001.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

प्रो० विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा एम.ए., पीएच.डी.  
संसद सदस्य (लोक सभा)

*Prof. Vijay Kumar Malhotra*  
M.A.Ph.D.  
Member Parliament (Lok Sabha)



C-1/5, PANDARA PARK,  
NEW DELHI - 110003  
PHONE : 385070

सी-१/५, पंडारा पार्क  
नई दिल्ली - ११०००३  
दूरभाष : ३८५०७०

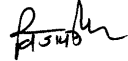
Date: 13th Feb., 1990.

Dear Shri Babbar,

I received your letter of February 6  
and a copy of your letter to Shri Rajendra Mohan,  
Additional Commissioner of Police. I will  
take up the matter with the Lt. Governor and  
try to get the needful done.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

  
(VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA)

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conferce (Babbar)  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
DELHI-110009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

GOBINDA MUKHOTY  
Barrister-at-Law  
Senior Advocate  
Supreme Court of India  
New Delhi

31st October, 1991.

213, Jor Bagh,  
New Delhi-110003  
Tele phone: 4622027  
690887

Member, LAWASIA  
Human Rights Standing Committee

Advisory Board, SOS-Torture

&

People's Union for Democratic Rights.

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi-110009.

Dear Shri Babbar,

I have at hand your Ref. No.A ISC (B)/91,  
dated October 23, 1991. I take note that you will  
have a week-long seventh commemorative anniversary  
of November 1984 genocide from October 29 to 4th  
November, 1991.

This gruesome incident cannot be allowed to  
be forgotten. As Germany must remember as to what it  
did to the Jews at a particular period, the Secular  
India also must remember as to what it did in its  
capital seven years ago. I would have been readily  
agreeable to address anyone of these meetings, during  
this period, but, unfortunately, I am going to  
Calcutta today and shall not be returning before 8th  
November. As a result, I shall not be able to address  
any of these meetings, for which I regret.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

  
( Gobinda Mukhoty )

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



RALLY WITH THE FORCES OF REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY  
FOR A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC, PROSPEROUS INDIA

## Indian People's Front

Central Office : GALI NO. 2, SADATPUR COLONY, DELHI-110094

President :

Nagbhushan Patnaik

General Secretaries :

Akhilendra Pratap Singh

Barooah

Dipankar Bhattacharya

Kumudini Pati

P. Satyanarayana

R. Narayanan

Rajaram

Ranji Rai

~~Suresh Chandra~~

Swapan Mukherjee

Office Secretary :

Raja Ram Singh

Ref. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Dated 11/11/88

To

Gurucharan Singh Bahihar

Dear Friend,

It is to inform that the following resolution was taken in our Central working Committee meeting at Patna between 26th Oct. to 28 Oct. 1988.

The central working committee of IPF strongly condemns the heinous killing of six students at Bidar in Karnataka which can not but viewed as an alarming development taking place as it did in as far away a state from the Punjab-Haryana-Delhi belt as Karnataka and that too under a non-congress Government rule. We demand immediate punishment of the guilty and call upon the Hindus and Sikhs in Bidar and all over India to unitedly frustrate the designs of Congress Government and various communal elements to create rift between the two communities. In this context the C.W.C also reiterates the I.P.F.'s consistent demand for re-investigation into the November '84 riots, and meeting out exemplary punishment to all those guilty elements who are still entrenched in high places.

Sincerely Yours,

*Raja Ram Singh*  
(RAJA RAM SINGH)

Central Office Secretary, IPF.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

P. UPENDRA  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



11, Akbar Road  
New Delhi - 110 011  
Ph. No. 301 7686

Dt. December 19, 1991.

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you very much for your letter No. AISC/91/B,  
dated December 12, 1991, inviting me to participate  
in the 'Awaken India' movement being launched on  
December 28 at Boat Club. I am leaving for Hyderabad on  
December 22 and I regret my inability to participate  
in your campaign.

I wish your programme all success.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

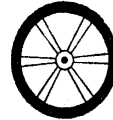
*P. Upendra*  
( P. UPENDRA )

Sh. Curcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
N-31, Dr. Mukherjee Nagar  
DELHI - 110 009

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## JANATA DAL

7, Jantar Mantar Road,  
New Delhi - 110001



Phone : 3321833


August 6, 1991

Dear friend,

I am extremely sorry your letter  
of the 31st July remained unresponded  
to as I was busy with heavy prior commitments.  
I hope the Dharna went of very well and will  
serve its purpose.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

  
(S.R. BOMMAI)

Shri Gurucharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
N-31 Mukerji Nagar  
Delhi-110009



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

**SAMAR MUKHERJEE**  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)  
**LEADER**  
CPI(M) GROUP IN PARLIAMENT



Phones: 384806 1  
3782213 1

CPI(M) PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE:  
12, WINDSOR PLACE  
NEW DELHI-110001.

DDNO. SM/3043/F-V/90,

Dated 12-9-1990

My dear Shri V.P. Singh,

Enclosed herewith a Press release dated 10.9.90 issued by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Delhi-9, demanding speedy actions against those accused of fomenting the Ghastly Nov'84 riots that took a very heavy toll of lives of innocent Sikhs in Delhi, as promised by the NF Govt.

I personally feel that the follow up actions of NF Govt in this regard is very very slow indeed. This will give an impression among the patriotic Sikhs that there is an attempt to let the culprits go scot free. The above organisation has justifiably remarked that Nov'84 riots provided grist to the mill of the anti-national forces to step up their activities and to gain public sympathy among the Sikhs. Therefore the culprits who were responsible for fomenting that terrible riots should be dealt with in a more severest manner. This alone will restore the confidence and will of Sikh community to join the mainstream of people struggling to preserve the national unity.

With regards,

Enc.-1.


Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

Shri V.P. Singh,  
Prime Minister,  
India, New Delhi.

(Samar Mukherjee)

cc Sh. Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secy  
All India Sikh Conference, N-31, Mukherjee Nagar,  
DELHI-110009

  
(Samar Mukherjee)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

BASUDEV ACHARYA

संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)  
CHAIRMAN

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS



Phones: 384806 &  
3782218

CPI(M) PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE:  
12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi

BA/2235/F-20/90.

23-7-1990

Dear Mufti Sahab,

You may be aware that about 1300 families all of them victims of Nov'84 anti-sikh riots in Delhi are squatting at Tilak Vihar, Opp. Cremation Ground and are living a miserable life under Sun, rain and severe winter days together.

The previous Cong(I) regime callously failed to implement their oft repeated assurance of rehabilitating these victims. However, these people had high hopes of National Front Govt that at last they would be rehabilitated and their dignity restored. But inspite of PM's assurance so far nothing has advanced in the direction of their rehabilitation. This inaction has frustrated these victims. They have therefore decided to sit on indefinite hunger strike before Lt. Governor's residence from 24th of this month to draw Govt's attention towards their plight.

I request you to intervene immediately and save these people who are already suffering from further suffering through hunger strike ordeal by taking urgent steps to rehabilitate them. At least a firm assurance with definite period of their rehabilitation should be extended to them.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S/c

Shri Mufti Mohammed Sayeed,  
Minister of Home Affairs,  
Govt. of India, New Delhi.

(Basudev Acharya)

Copy to/ Gurcharan Singh Babbar, All India Sikh  
Conference(Babbar), N-31, Mukherji Nagar, DELHI-11000

(Basudev Acharya)

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



**' SECRET '**

S. B. CHAVAN  
HOME MINISTER  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI-110001.

D.O.No. VI-23014/509/92-GPA.III

Dated 23rd June'93.

Dear Shri Samar Mukherjee,

Please refer to your letter dated No. SM/1202/F-20/93 dated 20th April, 1993 regarding security arrangements for Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary, All India Sikh Conference (Babbar) Delhi.

We have got the matter reviewed in consultation with Central Security Agencies and they have not recommended any special security arrangements for Shri Babbar for the present.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(S. B. CHAVAN)

Shri Samar Mukherjee,  
Member of Parliament (RS)  
12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi.

/True copy/

SM/2412 /F-20/93

Dt:- 1/7/93

(SAMAR MUKHERJEE)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

*R. Krishna Iyer*  
(Former Judge, Supreme Court)

Phone: 360088  
"SATGAMAYA"  
M. G. ROAD, ERNAKULAM  
KOCHI - 682 011

24th November 1992

Dear Shri Chavan,

I have received a letter from Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar who seems to be a leading figure in the ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR). He writes to say that he was unjustly included among the list of 'wanted' persons, and so, the security which had been accorded to him by the Govt. of India has been withdrawn. This step he considers ominous and malafide. He has also sent to you a telegram in this connection. It appears he was falsely included in the 'wanted' list of terrorists and when he came to know that this was the preliminary step to liquidate him, he moved the High Court and so, the Police changed its version and retraced the step. May I request you in all humility that reckless action by the Police and support for it by Government may only worsen the situation and embitter persons who may well be prepared to play a lawful role in Punjab politics ?

I have no request to make except to suggest that it may be useful to instruct the Police Chief or the Chief Minister that political vengeance against Gurcharan Singh Babbar may not be resorted to. The fact that there is terrorism somewhere does not justify bullet reprisals elsewhere.

I gather that the situation in the Punjab is improving and the country, I hope, will sigh relief

... 2.

: 2 :

eventually. It is important that political dialogue must now commence and the terrorists of yesterday may be the creative dissenters under the Constitution to-morrow. Democracy is our goal, not necessarily conformity.

With warmest wishes,

Yours sincerely,

  
(V.R. KRISHNA IYER)

To

Shri S.B. Chavan,  
Hon'ble Minister for Home Affairs,  
Govt. of India,  
NEW DELHI.

Copy to: Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR),  
N-31, Dr. Mukherjee Nagar,  
DELHI 110 009.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

سید شہاب الدین  
ایڈووکیٹ، ممبر پارلیمنٹ

سیّد شاہابوদ্ین، سانسد  
Syed Shahabuddin, M.P.



14, Janpath.  
New Delhi-110001  
Tel.: 3782128

4.5.1992

Dear Shri Chavan,

The All India Sikh Conference (Babbar) has stated in a Press Release, dated April 22, 1992 that the following police officials who were identified for having committed grave lapses during the anti-Sikh riots in October, -November, 1984 and charge-sheeted continue to enjoy full benefits:-

1. Sheodeen Singh Yadav Who was SHO Janakpuri in Nov.84 is now ACP Tilak Nagar.
2. Rajinder Singh Dahaiya Who was SHO Mangolpuri in Nov.84 is now ACP Sabzimandi.
3. Jaipal Singh Who was SHO Mehrauli in Nov.84 is now ACP Traffic.
4. S. M. Bhaskar Who was SHO Krishan Nagar in Nov. 84 is now ACP Rashtrapati Bhawan.
5. O. P. Yadav Who was SHO Srinivaspuri in Nov. 84 is now ACP Rashtrapati Bhawan.
6. Jagdish Chander Who was SHO Tilak Nagar in Nov.84 is now ACP Vigilance.
7. Survir Singh Tyagi (He is on anticipatory bail) Who was SHO Trilok Puri in Nov.84 is now posted in the same rank at IGI Airport (FRRO).
8. Mahavir Singh Who was ACP Ashok Viher in Nov.84 is now DCP Security.
9. Chander Prakash Who was DCP (East) in Nov. 84 has been promoted DCS and is on delegation in a Southern State.

These officers who are on active duty continue to build influence and are in a position to tamper with the process of justice, receive patronage and ~~give~~ extend support to the politicians involvement in the November, 1984 riots.

...2/-



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

سید شہاب الدین  
ایڈووکیٹ میر پارلیمنٹ

سید شہاب الدین، سانسد  
Syed Shahabuddin, M.P.



14, Janpath,  
New Delhi-110001  
Tel. : 3782128

- 2 -

I, therefore, support their demand ~~that~~ immediate action be taken against these officials in order to establish its credibility in the Delhi Administration in respect of its commitment to punish the guilty of 1984.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

( SYED SHAHABUDDIN )

Shri S.B. Chavan,  
Minister of Home,  
Govt. of India,  
NEW DELHI.

c.s. Shri G.S. Babbar  
A.I. L.R. Cofm  
New Delhi

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



B.L. Sharma 'Prem'  
1, Western Court  
New Delhi-110001

No. BLS/7879/91

21-12-91

Dear Shri Babbar,

I thank you for your letter No.  
AISC/91/B dated 12-12-1991.

Due to my pre-fixed programmes, it  
will not be possible for me to join you on  
25th Dec 91.

I, however, wish success to your  
noble cause.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shri Gur Charan Singh  
Babbar,  
Gen Secy.  
A.I. Sikh Conference,  
N-31, Dr. Mukherjee Nagar,  
DELHI-9

Babbar Sahib  
How are you?

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

Member of Parliament  
(Lok Sabha)



(TRUE COPY)

NO. V.2834/90.HMP

HOME MINISTER  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI -- 110001.

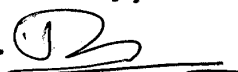
8th August, 1990.

Dear Shri Acharya,

I have received your letter dated 23rd July, 1990 regarding rehabilitation of the victims of Nov. '84 riots. I am having the matter looked into.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- 

( MUFTI MOHAMMED SAYEED )

Shri Basudev Acharya,  
Member of Parliament,  
12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi - 110001.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

Tel : 284 5768  
2022627  
Ext : 261/301

Weekly  
**LOKPABHA** Express Towers, Nariman Point, Mumbai 400 021 (India)

18.4.98

Shri. Gurucharan Singh Babbar  
N-31, Dr. Mukharjee Nagar,  
Dehi - 110009.

Received your letter. I was shock and  
surprise by reading your letter.. If  
possible please send copy of your book  
"SARKARI QUTL-E-AAM" (English Edition)  
I will pay for it. Alongwith the book  
please send your photographs also. So  
that we can give a publicity to book  
as well as your cause.

I hope very soon Government will realize  
their mistake and lift the ban.

With regards.



( PRADEEP VARMA )  
Executive Editor, LOKPABHA

Fax No. : 022-2852108 / 2022139 / 2026382 ▲ Telex : 82276  
E-Mail : iemumbai @ express.indexp.co.in

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



( TRUE COPY )

NO. V.2622/90.HMP

HOME MINISTER

INDIA

NEW DELHI -- 110001.

20th July, 1990.

Dear Shri Acharya,

I have received your letter dated 7th July, 1990 forwarding a letter from All India Sikh Conference ( Babbar ), Delhi regarding an enquiry by an independent agency into the complaint against the Delhi Police. I am having the matter looked into.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

( MUFTI MOHAMMED SAYEED )

Shri Basudev Acharya,  
Member of Parliament,  
12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi - 110001.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

संसद सदस्य  
(लोक समा)



( TRUE COPY )

NO. V.2622/90.HMP

HOME MINISTER  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI -- 110001.

20th July, 1990.

Dear Shri Acharya,

I have received your letter dated 7th July, 1990 forwarding a letter from All India Sikh Conference ( Babbar ), Delhi regarding an enquiry by an independent agency into the complaint against the Delhi Police. I am having the matter looked into.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

( MUFTI MOHAMMED SAYEED )

Shri Basudev Acharya,  
Member of Parliament,  
12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi - 110001.



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

CHIEF MINISTER



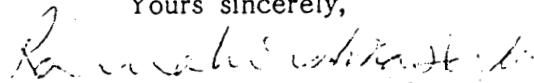
BANGALORE  
Dec. 17, 1986

My dear Prime Minister,

The other day when I was in New Delhi, I had an occasion to go to the relief camp of the 1984 riot victims at Tilak Nagar along with the Janatha Party President, Shri Chandrashekar. This camp is one among the many started to re-settle the riot-affected people following the unfortunate murder of Mrs. Gandhi. I am sorry to tell you that the conditions in which these people are living are appalling. There are about 1300 families staying in this camp. They have been provided with no basic amenities like water, drains, electricity, etc. The place gets flooded and becomes slushy when it rains. I would request you to send somebody who could visit this place and give you a first-hand report of the conditions prevailing in this camp. The authorities concerned must take necessary steps to provide basic amenities to the people who are forced to live in these camps. I am afraid it is such crass neglect that prevents the wound caused by the riots from healing.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
[RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE]

Shri Rajiv Gandhi,  
Prime Minister of India,  
NEW DELHI.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

All communications should  
be addressed to the Registrar,  
Supreme Court, by designation,  
NOT by name.  
Telegraphic address:-  
"SUPREMECO"

No.4240/SC/PILC/89.

**SUPREME COURT  
INDIA**

FROM : A.L. Jain,  
Assistant Registrar(PIL.CELL).

To : The Commissioner of Police,  
Police Head Quarter,  
I.P. Estate,  
NEW DELHI.

Dated New Delhi, the..... June 16, ..... 19 89

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith a petition  
dated 30-5-1989 (along with annexures) sent by  
Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar to the Hon'ble the Chief  
Justice of India.

You are requested to take such action thereon  
as may be deemed fit in the matter.

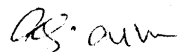
Yours faithfully,



ASSISTANT REGISTRAR.

Encls: as above.

Copy for information to: Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
Genl. Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Eakbar),  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
DELHI - 110 009.



ASSISTANT REGISTRAR.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

M-3, Bhagat Singh Market,  
NEW DELHI 110 001

Phones : 35 13 11, 25 18 377

Dated : 21.08.89

PRESS RELEASE FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION

Joint statement by Prof. Rajni Kothari and Mr. Inder Mohan

We have been shocked at the way the Delhi police has set upon maligning, harassing and intimidating Mr. Gurcharan Singh Babbar, General Secretary of the All India Sikh Conference (B).

Many have already vouched for the integrity, courage of conviction and uprightness of Mr. Babbar. We endorse these feelings whole heartedly.

Mr. Babbar has been an activist of long standing. Since November 1984 onwards, when a carnage was organised against thousands of innocent members of Sikh community, Mr. Babbar emerged and has continued to be a persistent fighter for justice and rehabilitation for the victims. He has organised and led several demonstrations of suffering widows and orphaned children. He has been demanding punishment for all the guilty including certain VIPs functioning under the present tottering regime.

At the same time Mr. Babbar has been categorically raising his voice against terrorism, be it on the part of the State or individual groups.

Any intrigue or attempt to brand Mr. Babbar either as a wanted person or as a terrorist is not only preposterous but also a challenge to all those who stand for fundamental human rights.

While assuring Mr. Babbar of full support, we demand that totally uncalled for harassment being caused to Mr. Babbar should be put to an end forthwith. We also demand a public apology from Delhi police for playing into the hands of certain ruling party politicians.

Rajni Kothari

Inder Mohan

*Inder Mohan*

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

President : Rajinder Sachar  
Vice-Presidents : Aloo Dastur  
Asghar Ali Engineer  
K. G. Kannabiran  
Nayan Tara Sehgal  
General Secretaries : Dalip S. Swami  
Yash Pal Chhibbar  
Organising Secretaries : Balbir Singh Saini  
Henri Tiphagne  
P. K. Bal  
Executive Secretary : N. Kotishwar Singh

Founder : JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN  
**people's union for civil liberties**

V. M. TARKUNDE  
Advisor

B-17, Maharani Bagh  
New Delhi - 110065  
Phone : 6835048

Aug. 19, 1989.

To

Shri Vijay Karan  
Commissioner of Police  
Police Headquarters  
Indraprastha Estates  
New Delhi - 110 002.

Dear Shri Vijay Karan,

I was greatly surprised to learn that the police have issued a handbill in which a photograph of Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar has been published as a "wanted" person. Such a publication is highly defamatory because it implies that Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar has committed some serious offence and that he is absconding in order to avoid apprehension by the police. To my knowledge, Gurcharan Singh Babbar has never been absconding and there was no justification whatever for publishing his photograph as a "wanted" person.

I have therefore to request you to kindly withdraw the handbill and also give due publicity to the fact that Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar has not been absconded and is not a "wanted" person.

Kindly send me a line in reply.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

( V.M. Tarkunde )

Copy to: Shri Gurcharan Singh  
Babbar,  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar,  
Delhi-110 009.

*V. M. Tarkunde*



सं. (ब)/ए पी एस '90  
No. 3975 M (T)/AIS/90

अपर निजी सचिव  
वस्त्र मन्त्री  
भारत

नई दिल्ली-११००११  
ADDL. PRIVATE SECRETARY TO  
MINISTER OF TEXTILES  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI-110011

/०-८- जुलाई, ९०

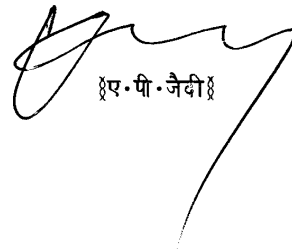
प्रिय श्री गुरुचरण सिंह जी,

माननीय वस्त्र एवं खाद्य संस्करण उद्योग मंत्री श्री  
शरद यादव ने आपके पत्र में उल्लेखित सुझाव पढ़ लिये हैं और  
आपके प्रति निजी आभार प्रकट किया है ।

समय समय पर गतिविधियों से अवगत करवाते रहा  
करें ।

सधन्यवाद,

आपका ही,

  
॥प.पी.जैदी॥

श्री गुरुचरण सिंह जेवर,  
एन-३१, मुकजी नगर,  
दिल्ली-९

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

GEORGE FERNANDES

Phone : 66 83 73  
6/105 Kaushalya Park  
Hauz Khas  
New Delhi 110016

October 5, 1988

12/10/88

Dear Mr Babbar,

While I fully sympathise with the purpose behind your indefinite fast, I don't think that the fast will serve the purpose. The problems of the Sikhs in particular and of the minorities in general are far too complex to be resolved through individual sacrifices.

I would request you to give up your fast and make common cause with all those who support the issues raised by you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
George Fernandes

Mr Gurcharam Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference  
N-31 Mukerji Nagar  
Delhi 110009



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

तारा चन्द खण्डेलवाल  
संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



509, कूचा पाती राम  
बाजार सीताराम,  
दिल्ली-110006  
फोन : 734660

TC/2559/10/92

3.5.1992

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
H-31 Dr. Mukherjee Nagar  
Delhi-9

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you for your letter dated  
22.4.1992 regarding contents of Press  
Conference held on 22.4.1992.

I have gone through the contents  
of your letter and would do whatever  
is possible at my end.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Tara Chand Khandelwal)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



गृह मंत्री  
भारत  
नई दिल्ली-११०००१  
HOME MINISTER  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI-110001

Dated the 19th May, 1987.

Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha,  
Outram Line, G.T.B. Nagar,  
DELHI - 110009.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your memorandum dated 19th May, 1987, presented to me today by a delegation led by you, I have to inform you that the problems listed out in your memorandum will be taken up with Delhi Administration within this week and you will be informed about the action taken.

Yours faithfully,

*Buta Singh*  
( BUTA SINGH )

Phone : 385355  
387708

लोक दल

لوک دل

مرکزی آفس  
۳-چندت پت مارگ  
نئی دہلی

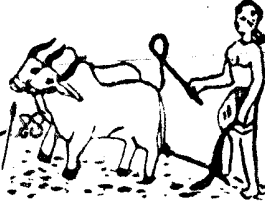
**Lok Dal**

Central Office :  
3, Pt. Pant Marg,  
New Delhi-110001

केन्द्रीय कार्यालय :  
3, पंडित पंत मार्ग,  
नई दिल्ली-110001

H.N. BAHUGUNA,  
PRESIDENT

क्रमांक/Ref. No. 11/10/88/2/88



दिनांक/Dated..... 11/10/88

My dear Babbar

Thanks for your letter and enclosure thereof.

My very host wishes are with in the task of helping the oppressed and the persecuted.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

  
( H.N. BAHUGUNA )

Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
N-13, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi-110009.



ੴ ਓ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ॥

ਫੋਨ : { 43431  
43355

ਨਿਜੀ ਸਹਾਇਕ

ਪਰਧਾਨ, ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ,  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

ਪੱਤਰ ਨੰ: 22/480

ਅਕਤੂਬਰ 30, 1992

ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ 'ਬੱਬਰ',

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਨਸਾ ॥

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ॥

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਪੱਤਰ ਮਿਤੀ 16-10-1992, ਜਿਸ ਰਾਹੀਂ  
ਆਪਣੇ ਨਵੰਬਰ 1984 ਦੇ ਦੰਗਿਆਂ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਬੰਦੇਸ਼ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਹੋਏ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਸਿੰਘਣੀਆਂ  
ਅਤੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਸ਼ਰਧਾਂਜਲੀ ਸਮਾਰੋਹ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੋਣ ਹਿੱਤ  
ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਲਈ ਧੰਨਵਾਦੀ ਹਾਂ।

ਖਰਬਾਨ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਰਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਸਮਾਰੋਹ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਦਿਨ  
ਪੁੱਜ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਬੰਦੇਸ਼ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਹੋਏ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਸਿੰਘਣੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ  
ਆਪਣੀ ਸ਼ਰਧਾਂਜਲੀ ਭੇਟ ਕਰਦੇ ਪਹੰਤੂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਪ੍ਰੇਮਰਸਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਰੁਝੇਵਿਆਂ ਕਾਰਨ  
ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਅਸਮਰਥ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਖਿਮਾਂ ਕਰਨਾ ਜੀ।

ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਸਹਿਤ,

ਸੁਭਚਿੰਤਕ,

ਦਲਮੇਘ ਸਿੰਘ

(ਦਲਮੇਘ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਸਰਦਾਰ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ 'ਬੱਬਰ',

ਐਨ-31 ਮੁਕਰ ਜੀ ਨਗਰ,

ਢਿੱਲੀ- 110009.

ੴ ਓ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹ ॥

ਟੈਲੀਫੋਨ - { ੪੩੪੪੧ ੬੩੩ }  
੪੨੪੬੦ ੨੧੨੧੫

ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ  
ਸਕੱਤਰ ਸਾਬਕਾ



ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ,  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ।

317-ਭਵਾਨੀ ਨਗਰ,  
ਮਜੀਠਾ ਰੋਡ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ  
ਅਕਤੂਬਰ 26, 1991

ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸ੍ਰ: ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ,

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਨਸਾ।।

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ।।

ਦਿੱਲੀ ਦੇਗਿਆਂ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਨਵੰਬਰ 1984 ਵਿਚ ਬੇਗੁਨਾਹ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਕਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਬੇਅਦਬੀ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਦੇਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਵਲੋਂ ਹੁਣ ਤੀਕ ਨਾ ਪਕੜਨ ਦੇ ਰੋਸ ਵਜੋਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਕਤ ਸ਼ਹੀਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਯਾਦ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਨ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਮੇਂ ਪੁੱਜਣ ਤਿੱਠ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਪੱਤਰਕਾ ਮਿਤੀ 23-10-91 ਅਤੇ 29-10-91 ਤੋਂ 4-11-91 ਤੀਕ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਕਨਵੈਨਸ਼ਨ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮ ਪੁੱਜੇ ਹਨ, ਜਿਸ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਹਾਰਦਿਕ ਧੰਨਵਾਦੀ ਹਾਂ।

ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਫਲਤਾ ਬਖਸ਼ਣ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਦਿਨ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਪੁੱਜਕੇ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕਰਾਂਗਾ।

ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਾਸ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਵਿਚ ਰਖਣ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਧੰਮ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਬਲ ਬਖਸ਼ਣ।

ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਸਹਿਤ,

ਸ਼ੁਭਚਿੰਤਕ,

( ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ )

ਸ੍ਰ: ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਬੱਬਰ,  
ਆਲ ਟਿੰਡੀਆ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ  
ਐਨ-31, ਮੁਕਰਜੀ ਨਗਰ,  
ਦਿੱਲੀ-110009.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



संख्या रा० मं० (प०व०)/...../90  
No. MOS (E&F)/...../90 184)  
MANEKA GANDHI

पर्यावरण एवं वन राज्य मंत्री  
भारत सरकार  
पर्यावरण भवन, सी.जी.ओ. कॉम्प्लेक्स  
लोदी रोड, नई दिल्ली-110003  
MINISTER OF STATE  
ENVIRONMENT & FORESTS  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
PARYAVARAN BHAWAN, CGO COMPLEX  
LODI ROAD, NEW DELHI-110003  
3rd February, 1990.

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you for your letter dated 15-1-1990  
regarding conspiracy hatched by former Union  
Ministers and former Governor of Delhi,

whose contents have been noted with  
interest.

*Maneka Gandhi*  
(Maneka Gandhi)

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
DELHI - 110009.



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
( RAJYA SABHA )



Copy of letter No.U-14035/97/92-Delhi dated 17.2.93  
from Shri S.B.Chavan, Minister of Home to Shri Samar  
Mukherjee, MP.

Kindly refer to your semi-official letter No.SM  
1416/F-20/92 dated the 4th May, 1992 and my interim  
reply dated 18th May, 1992 regarding action taken against  
police officials allegedly involved in November, 1984  
riots.

2. The present Govt. is committed to bring to book  
those guilty of 1984 riots. It has initiated action again-  
st the police officials indicted by the Kapur-Mittal ~~22~~  
Committee for their role in 1984 riots. Miss Mittal has  
indicted 72 officials. Of these, 16 have retired/died.  
Chargesheets have been served against 49 of the remaining  
56 officials.

3. A Committee known as Jain-Agarwal Committee is  
scrutinising affidavits filled by 1984 riots victims and  
making recommendations to the Delhi Administration for  
registration of criminal cases. The Committee has  
scrutinised 679 affidavits out of 1984 and sent them to  
Delhi Administration. In about 200 cases, FIR have been  
registered. A Special Riot Cell has been created for  
investigation of cases relating to 1984 riot victims.

4. Till 30th November, 1992 264 cases had been  
instituted in the courts. Three Special Courts have been  
set up for trying these cases expeditiously.

5. The progress of action is being regularly reviewed  
at the level of the Union Home Secretary and Lt.Governor,  
Delhi.

With regards.

N. SM/509/F-20/93

xxxxxxx

dt 14-3-93

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

शरद यादव  
संसद् सदस्य  
(राज्य सभा)



31, फिरोजशाह रोड,  
नई दिल्ली - 110001  
टेलीफोन : 38 27 39

दिनांक/८८/

25-8-88

प्रिय बब्बर जी,

आपका भेजा हुआ पत्र  
मिला, धन्यवाद । आपके विचारों से  
पूर्णतः सहमत हूँ । इस सन्दर्भ में यदि  
आप कोई कार्यक्रम करने का विचार  
रखते हों तो सूचित करें ।

सधन्यवाद,

आपका

॥ शरद यादव ॥

GEORGE FERNANDES

Dec 22, '91

Phone : 66 83 73

6/105 Kaushalya Park

Hauz Khas

New Delhi 110016

From: Bombay

Dear Gurcharan Singh  
your letter of  
Dec 12 on the Awaken  
India yatra. I wish  
you every success in  
your endeavour.

As I will be out of  
Delhi on Dec 25, I'm  
indeed sorry I

cannot make it  
to the Boat Club.

Regards  
George Fernandes

سید شہاب الدین  
ایڈووکیٹ، ممبر پارلیمنٹ



14, Janpath,  
New Delhi-110001  
Tel : 3782128

مہیاد شاہابوہدین، ساंसद  
Syed Shahabuddin, M.P.

24.2.93

Dear Mr. Babbar,

We are all concerned about  
relief and rehabilitation of the victims  
of 1984 massacre. I would like  
to know clearly, itemwise, a) What was  
provided b) What was done c) What was  
left undone d) What is the present  
demand. Kindly let me know  
the no. of pending case under  
each item.

Regards,

Yours sincerely

सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय

संसद् सदस्य  
(राज्य सभा)



३८, अगोव रोड

नई दिल्ली-१

१-११-१९८८

प्रिय श्री बब्बर,

आपका पत्र दिनांक २८ अक्टूबर  
मिला । ४ नवम्बर को रेली सम्बोधित  
करने की अपनी स्वीकृति मैं भेज रहा  
हूँ ।

शुभकामनाओं सहित,

आपका

(सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय)

श्री गुरचरण सिंह बब्बर

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

**PREM BHATIA**

D-364, Defence Colony  
New Delhi-110 024  
☎ 693525

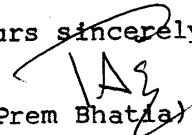
December 23, 1991

Dear Mr Gurcharan Singh Babbar,

I am writing this to acknowledge with thanks your kind letter marked AISC/91/B dated December 12, 1991, and send you my warm good wishes for the success of your movement, being launched on December 25. Much as I would have liked to be present at the Boat Club, I am afraid this is not going to be possible because I shall be away from Delhi. You have, however, my full support in your noble cause.

Please accept my regards and good wishes and convey them also to your Chairman, Mr Harjit Singh.

Yours sincerely,

  
(Prem Bhatia)

Mr Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Dr Mukherjee Nagar,  
DELHI-110 009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

ਸਿਖ ਫੋਰਮ

## THE SIKH FORUM

(Registered Under Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860)

Telephone : 619284

3. MASJID ROAD, JANGPURA  
NEW DELHI-110014

27 August 1989

*President :*

Lt Gen Jagjit Singh  
Aurora (Retd)  
M.P.

*Sr. Vice President :*  
Dr. Amrik Singh

*Vice Presidents :*  
Prof. Harkishen Singh  
Delhi

Lt Col Balbir Singh

Chhatwal (Retd)

Mohar Singh Sethi

Meerut

Jaspal Singh Kohli

Bombay

*General Secretary :*

Dr. Maheep Singh

*Secretaries :*

Gurmukh Singh Jeet

Wg Cdr RS Chhatwal

(Retd)

G. S. Chadha

*Jt. Secretary :*

Santokh Singh Sarang

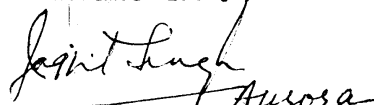
*Treasurer :*

Jangsher Singh

PRESS RELEASE FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION/CIRCULATION:

Harassment by Delhi Police

We, of the Sikh Forum are surprised and dismayed that the Delhi Police is continuing to adopt illegal harassing measures to intimidate the social workers like Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar who has been fearlessly championing the cause of the widows and other victims of the Nov '84 killings. What makes this even more reprehensible is inspite of the High Court instructions to the contrary the harassment continues. Such tactics only result in greater loss of faith in the police as an instrument for providing security and protection to the common man against the wrong doers. The Delhi Police has yet to live down its total failure in this regard in November 1984.

  
(JAGJIT SINGH AURORA)  
President



Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

R. S. NARULA

C-215, DEFENCE COLONY  
NEW DELHI-110024

13.2.1990

Sub: S. Gurcharan Singh Babbar.

My dear Governor,

While thanking you for your kind D.O. letter No. 47(4)/90 RN/374/2522 dated 5/8 February, 1990, on the above subject, I have to quote below the relevant passage from the letter dated January 19, 1990, now received by Shri Babbar from Shri Rajendra Mohan, Additional Commissioner of Police (Admn.) Delhi Police Headquarters:-

"In case you strongly feel there is one (conspiracy) like that, we can refer it to the Govt. of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, for an independent agency."

Babbar has already stated in his reply requesting for the suggested enquiry being held.

I am writing these few lines just to support his request so that justice is not only done but also appears to be done. Since the police and Babbar are both on the same wavelength regarding the enquiry in question there should, I feel, be no difficulty in a reference being made to the Ministry of Home Affairs on the lines indicated in the above-mentioned letter of the Addl. Commissioner of Police.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

sd

(R. S. Narula)

Air Chief Marshal Airjan Singh (Retd).  
Lt. Governor  
Raj Niwas  
Raj Niwas Marg  
Delhi-110 054.

Endst.No. M/SBS/31777

13.2.1990

Copy, along with a photocopy of the Lt. Governor's letter dated 5/8 February, 1990, forwarded to Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar, N-31, Mukherji Nagar, Delhi-110 009, for information and record. Regards.

(R. S. Narula)

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

SECRET/IMMEDIATE

No. 26930 /Coml. (S-4) dated New Delhi, the 27/8/1990.

To

Sh. Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar,  
Delhi-9.

M e m o.

Please refer to your letter dated 20th August 1990 addressed to CP/Delhi and copy endorsed to Addl. CP/Law & order, Delhi, regarding threat to your life and obnoxious calls.

In this connection I have already spoken to you. It is requested that the specific instances which posed or caused threat to your life may be intimated to this office, immediately, for further necessary action. Insp. Jagtar Singh, has also been directed to contact you personally in this connection.

  
( T.S. BALLA ) ACP

For DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE :  
SPECIAL CELL (SB) DELHI.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



RAJENDRA MOHAN

अर्ध सरकारी पत्र संख्या

D.O. No.

1189 / 8-11

अतिरिक्त आयुक्त पुलिस (प्रशासन),

दिल्ली पुलिस मुख्यालय,

इन्द्रप्रस्थ एस्टेट,

ADDL.COMMISSIONER OF POLICE (ADMN.)

DELHI POLICE HEADQUARTERS

INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE

दिनांक, नई दिल्ली

Dated, New Delhi, the 19th January, 1990

Dear Shri *Gurcharan Singh Babbar*

In reference to your letter dated 4.1.90 addressed to the Commissioner of Police, Delhi, and also letter dated 15.1.90 addressed to the Hon'ble Lt.-Governor, Delhi, it may be clearly stated that there is no such conspiracy at all to cause any physical harm to you. In case you strongly feel there is one like that, we can refer it to the Govt. of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, for an enquiry by an independent agency.

2. Since you have mentioned about threatening calls at your telephone, a request can be made with your approval to the Telephone Department for keeping your telephone under observation for sometime in order to detect the telephone caller. In such cases, it is the subscriber who has to request for such an arrangement.

3. The Commissioner of Police, Delhi, is extremely busy in connection with the Republic Day arrangements and the meetings connected with it. You are most welcome to see me in my office on any working day and I assure you that we will try to sort out whatever be the problems.

*best wishes*

Yours sincerely

*(Rajendra Mohan)*

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi-110009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

GEORGE FERNANDES

Phone : 66 83 73  
6/105 Kaushalya Park  
Hauz Khas  
New Delhi 110016

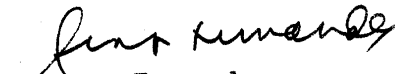
August 8, 1988.

Dear Mr.Babbar,

Your letter of August 1. I share your agony and anxiety over the Punjab situation. In the prevailing situation I doubt if any person outside of the government can really do much to resolve the Punjab crisis. Only in the defeat the Congress-I in the country and the installation of a non-Congress government will any genuine initiative be possible.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
George Fernandes

Mr.G.S.Babbar  
N-31, Mukherji Nagar,  
Delhi-110 009.

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## JANATA DAL

7, Jantar Mantar Road,  
New Delhi - 110001



Phone : 3321833


August 6, 1991

Dear friend,

I am extremely sorry your letter  
of the 31st July remained unresponded  
to as I was busy with heavy prior commitments.  
I hope the Dharna went of very well and will  
serve its purpose.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

  
(S.R. BOMMAI)

Shri Gurucharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
N-31 Mukerji Nagar  
Delhi-110009

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

BASUDEV ACHARYA

Member of Parliament

(Lok Sabha)

CHAIRMAN

PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS COMMITTEE



Phones: 384806

3785957

12, Windsor Place,  
New Delhi-110001

BA/1982/F-1/90.

7-7-1990

My dear Shri V.P. Singh,

I enclose herewith a communication dated 6.7.90 from All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Delhi seeking personal hearing from you in connection with the problems of Nov'84 riot victims. Many of their problems still remain unsettled despite assurances given by NF Govt. and by you personally.

I feel that a meeting with the delegation of above organisation who have been crusading against the inaction of the previous govt. to settle riot victims' cases and for victims' rehabilitation, will be fruitful.

I hope you will be in a position to spare some time to meet them.

With regards,

Encl-1.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

Shri V.P. Singh,  
Prime Minister, India,  
New Delhi.

(Basudev Acharya)

cc Harjit Singh, Chairman A.I Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
No.31, Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-110009

(Basudev Acharya)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

तारा चन्द खण्डेलवाल  
संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



509, कूचा पाती राम  
बाजार सीताराम,  
दिल्ली-110006  
फोन : 734660

EC/2559/10/92

3.5.1992

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
H-31 Dr. Mukherjee Nagar  
Delhi-9

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you for your letter dated  
22.4.1992 regarding contents of Press  
Conference held on 22.4.1992.

I have gone through the contents  
of your letter and would do whatever  
is possible at my end.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Tara Chand Khandelwal)



Indian Government-Organised Carnage

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



Copy of letter No.U-14035/97/92-Delhi dated 17.2.93 from Shri S.B.Chavan, Minister of Home to Shri Samar Mukherjee, MP.

Kindly refer to your semi-official letter No.SM 1416/P-20/92 dated the 4th May, 1992 and my interim reply dated 18th May, 1992 regarding action taken against police officials allegedly involved in November, 1984 riots.

2. The present Govt. is committed to bring to book those guilty of 1984 riots. It has initiated action against the police officials indicted by the Kapur-Mittal Committee for their role in 1984 riots. Miss Mittal has indicted 72 officials. Of these, 16 have retired/died. Chargesheets have been served against 49 of the remaining 56 officials.

3. A Committee known as Jain-Agarwal Committee is scrutinising affidavits filled by 1984 riots victims and making recommendations to the Delhi Administration for registration of criminal cases. The Committee has scrutinised 679 affidavits out of 1984 and sent them to Delhi Administration. In about 200 cases, FIR have been registered. A Special Riot Cell has been created for investigation of cases relating to 1984 riot victims.

4. Till 30th November, 1992 264 cases had been instituted in the courts. Three Special Courts have been set up for trying these cases expeditiously.

5. The progress of action is being regularly reviewed at the level of the Union Home Secretary and Lt.Governor, Delhi.

With regards.

N. SM/509/F-20/93

xxxxxx

dt 14-3-93

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



संख्या रा० मं० (प०व०)/...../90  
No. MOS (E&F)/...../90 1841

MANEKA GANDHI

पर्यावरण एवं वन राज्य मंत्री  
भारत सरकार  
पर्यावरण भवन, सी.जी.ओ. कॉम्प्लेक्स  
लोदी रोड, नई दिल्ली-110003  
MINISTER OF STATE  
ENVIRONMENT & FORESTS  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
PARYAVARAN BHAWAN, CGO COMPLEX  
LODI ROAD, NEW DELHI-110003  
3rd February, 1990.

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you for your letter dated 15-1-1990  
regarding conspiracy hatched by former Union  
Ministers and former Governor of Delhi,  
whose contents have been noted with  
interest.

*Maneka Gandhi*  
( Maneka Gandhi )

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Hukamji Nagar,  
DELHI - 110009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

तारा चन्द खण्डेलवाल  
संसद सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



509, कूचा पाती राम  
बाजार सोताराम,  
दिल्ली-110006  
फोन : 734660

TC/2559/10/92

3.5.1992

Shri Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
H-31 Dr. Mukherjee Nagar  
Delhi-9

Dear Shri Babbar,

Thank you for your letter dated  
22.4.1992 regarding contents of Press  
Conference held on 22.4.1992.

I have gone through the contents  
of your letter and would do whatever  
is possible at my end.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Tara Chand Khanelwal)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

बैकुंठ लाल शर्मा 'प्रेम'

संसद सदस्य

173, नार्थ एवेन्यू, नई दिल्ली-110001

फोन : 3792376



B. L. Sharma 'Prem'

Member of Parliament

173, North Avenue, New Delhi-110 001

Tel. : 3792376

कमांक

Ref. : BLSP/51658/92

दिनांक

Date 25.3.1992

Dear Shri Chavan,

Namaskar,

Please find enclosed a copy of letter dated the 20th March, 1992 sent to me by the All India Sikh Conference (Babbar), Mukerji Nagar, Delhi, for appropriate action.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
(B.L.SHARMA 'PREM')

Shri S.B.Chavan,  
Minister of Home Affairs,  
Govt. of India,  
New Delhi.

CC to :-

✓ The Chairman,  
All India Sikh Conference (Babbar),  
N-31, Mukerji Nagar,  
Delhi-110 009.

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

GEORGE FERNANDES

Phone : 68  
6/105 Kaula  
Hauz Khas  
New Delhi 110016

October 5, 1988  
12/10/88

Dear Mr Babbar,

While I fully sympathise with the purpose behind your indefinite fast, I don't think that the fast will serve the purpose. The problems of the Sikhs in particular and of the minorities in general are far too complex to be resolved through individual sacrifices.

I would request you to give up your fast and make common cause with all those who support the issues raised by you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
George Fernandes

Mr Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
General Secretary  
All India Sikh Conference  
N-31 Mukerji Nagar  
Delhi 110009

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.



गृह मंत्री  
भारत  
नई दिल्ली-११०००१  
HOME MINISTER  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI-110001

Dated the 19th May, 1987.

To

Sardar Burchanan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha,  
Outram Lane, S.T.B. Nagar,  
DELHI - 110009.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your memorandum dated 19th May, 1987, presented to me today by a delegation led by you, I have to inform you that the problems listed out in your memorandum will be taken up with Delhi Administration within this week and you will be informed about the action taken.

Yours faithfully,

*Buta Singh*  
( BUTA SINGH )

Indian Government-Organised Carnage



गृह मंत्री  
भारत  
नई दिल्ली-११०००१  
HOME MINISTER  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI-110001

Dated the 19th May, 1987

To

Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar,  
General Secretary,  
All India Sikh Conference,  
Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha,  
Outram Line, G.T.B. Nagar,  
DELHI - 110009.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your memorandum dated 19th May, 1987, presented to me today by a delegation led by you, I have to inform you that the problems listed out in your memorandum will be taken up with Delhi Administration within this week and you will be informed about the action taken.

Yours faithfully,

*Buta Singh*  
( BUTA SINGH )



Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

**"November 1984"**

**DELHI**  
**is**  
**The Only One**  
**City In The WORLD**  
**Where**

**10 Thousand**

**Killers Are Living**

**WITHOUT ANY FEAR**  
**NOW THE WORLD PEOPLE**  
**CAN JUDGE IT WHETHER THERE IS**  
**ANY RULE OF LAW**  
**OR**  
**JUSTICE**  
**IN INDIA?**

**Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar**  
**President All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)**

Indian Government-Organised Carnage

**"November 1984"**

**INDIAN GOVERNMENT**

**IS**

**PROTECTING  
10 THOUSANDS  
KILLERS OF**

**INNOCENT SIKH'S  
IN DELHI  
CAPITAL OF INDIA  
FROM LONG**

**25 years**

**IS THAT NOT**

**TRUE ?**

**sikh Qaum is**

**WAITING FOR JUSTICE**

Sardar Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
President All India Sikh Conference Babbar

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

## **POLITICIANS WITH BUREAUCRATS NEXUS**

These two enclosed letters are proving the Government plan. The letters enclosed are establishing truth behind the scheme of influential people. How immoral politicians and administrators with criminal backgrounds are exercising their powers dishonestly. Moreover, it is evident from the letters that, the voice of a righteous person who is fighting for justice and rights is being suppressed by the corrupt authorities. These corrupt authorities can go to any extent to terrorize a justice seeker. They bully the person at political, social and economic front to stop his voice.

# कौमी पत्रिका

लोकाि दैनिक हिन्दी अखबार

23.01.2006

BY HAND /SPEED POST

To,

Union Minister of Home Affairs,  
Ministry of Home Affairs,  
Government of India,  
North Block,  
New Delhi.

SUB: CONSPIRACY AGAINST ME AND 1984 RIOTS VICTIMS BY  
THE OFFICIALS OF DIRECTORATE OF REVENUE  
INTELLIGENCE AND RETRACTION OF MY STATEMENT DATED  
12 & 13.01.2006 TAKEN FORCIBLY BY D.R.I.  
OFFICIALS.

Sir,

The applicant herein submits as under:-

1. That the applicant / Gurucharan Singh Babbar is Editor and publisher of Daily Newspapers (1) Quami Patrika(Hindi), (2) Qaumi Patrika (Punjabi)(3) Sandhya Quami Patrika being published for the last more than 23 years from Delhi through three offices at A-7, Jaya Building, Top Floor, Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi (2) B-1, 8-9, Ansal Building, Basement, Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi. (3) 415, Partap Bhawan, Bahadur Shah Jafar Marg, Press Area, New Delhi and printed from A-4/144, Tronica City, Loni, Ghaziabad, where one Hunter Web Automatic Four Colour Printing Press, One Hunter Web Automatic Single Colour Printing Press, one four colour web offset printing press namely Grima complete with two processing units and two big generators for standby capable of running the printing machines are installed.
2. It is submitted that Sh. Gurcharan Singh Babbar is a social worker of repute having deep roots in the society being a responsible citizen of India and performing the duty of a printer, publisher and editor of various newspapers for the last more than 23 years and performing his duty to awaken the masses and enlighten them. The applicant is also a celebrated author of a book titled as "Government organized Carnage" in its 14<sup>th</sup> (fourteenth) edition being

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

-:2:-

published in four language, namely; English, Hindi, Pubjabi & Urdu since 1990.

3. The applicant is a member of Indian Newspaper Society and also president of All India Sikh Conference.
4. The applicant has relentlessly worked for the victims of 1984 riots victims, widows and orphan children and has succeeded in getting some succor and relief for the victims from the government after making great efforts since 1984.
5. That on 12.01.2006 in the morning at about 7.00 a.m. the officials of D.R.I. had swooped upon the residence, two offices at Mukherjee Nagar, one office at Press Area, ITO and Tronica City, Ghaziabad and the raids continued till late night. Meanwhile the officials of D.R.I. picked up the applicant Gurcharan Singh Babbar and his wife Smt. Tejender Kaur Babbar who were interrogated from 11.30 a.m. to 8.30 p.m. by D.R.I. at Paryavaran Bhawan, C.G.O. Complex and the applicant was asked to again join the investigation on 13.01.2006 at 11.00 a.m.
6. That the officials of D.R.I. while raiding the above mentioned premises of the applicant had also picked up various important papers, documents, files etc. including affidavits and other important papers pertaining to the submissions of documents/ affidavits before various previous Inquiry Commissions instituted by the Govt. of India with regard to 1984 riots. It is further submitted that these documents, important papers and affidavits including the one which pertained to Sh. Sajjan Kumar (M.P. & Senior Congress Leader) and Sh. Jagdish Tytler (Former Union Minister of India), which were to be deposited / submitted with the Central Bureau of Investigation, which has been investigating into the roles of the above said persons in the 1984 riots. These documents had nothing to do with the raids conducted by D.R.I. but were important pieces of documents for the victims of 1984 riots, i.e., widows and orphan children, who are trying to get the justice and are making continuous efforts towards that end. It is submitted that the picking up of these documents have not only shocked the victims of 1984 riots but also have given credence to the doubt in the mind of the victims that the present day

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage

-:3:-

government under a well motivated and well planned conspiracy has raided the newspapers and residence of the applicant in order to throttle the voice of the victims to save the above mentioned persons.

7. That the conduct of the D.R.I. Officials in investigating and taking the statement of the applicant on 12 & 13 January, 2006 forcibly by coercing and putting the applicant under duress and threat that if the statements by the applicant were not given in the fashion as desired by the officials then the applicant would face big criminal case and that they would tarnish his image, damage his reputation, his newspaper, printing press, ruin the family and esteem of the applicant in general public.
8. That during investigation on 13.01.2006 the officials of D.R.I. in the evening offered tea to the applicant after the consumption of which the applicant felt drowsy and drained of energy at which point the applicant was forced to bow down before the illegal wishes of the D.R.I. who succeeded in getting the statement of the applicant as per their own liking. The D.R.I. officials also obtained the forcible signatures of the applicant on various blank papers. It is submitted that the statements taken by the D.R.I. Officials was forcible, coercive, under duress and under the influence of intoxication which is not only illegal but also unconstitutional as the constitution of India has given protection to the citizens against the self incrimination. That the statements dated 12-13.01.2006 were retracted by the applicant on record. Since the applicant was meted out mental torture at the office of D.R.I. the applicant has taken seriously ill and has not been functioning till today.
9. That the applicant is a Senior Journalist by profession is being implicated by the D.R.I. officials in false and frivolous cases. That under the guise of raid of the D.R.I., not only important documents, file etc. pertaining to 1984 riots but also three C.P.U.s and entire records pertaining to the newspaper has also been taken away by the D.R.I. officials in their vehicles. It is the grave apprehension of the applicant that the records, documents, C.P.U.s etc. picked up by the officials of D.R.I. may be tampered

-:4:-

with or damaged or lost in order to create false evidence against the applicant.

10. It is evident from the conduct of the officials of the D.R.I. that the raid was well planned and organized conspiracy and is a political vendetta against the applicant who has championed the cause of the 1984 riots victims, in order to stop me from raising the voice for justice.
11. That all the actions of the D.R.I. clearly shows the malice and political motivation of the influential persons behind their actions to harass and intimidate the applicant into submitting to the illegal wishes of the political masters to shut the voice of the applicant who has been raising the voices of 1984 riots victims. It is well known and on Govt. records that the applicant has been raising the voice of riot victims including widows and orphan children, and has been actively participating in their movements leading from the front. The applicant has been entrusted by the riot victims with their affidavits and other important documents which were picked up by the D.R.I. these documents were presented and pertained to the various commissions, courts and forums such as Nanawati Commission, Rangnath Mishra Commission and another 16 Inquiry Commissions, who had been instituted from time to time by the govt. of India.
12. That the above mentioned documents picked up by the D.R.I. were to be submitted to the Central Bureau of Investigation as strong pieces of evidence against the culprits of the 1984 riots victims. There is grave apprehensions of the applicant that these documents may find the wrong hands like the persons accused of the atrocities committed upon the victims and in that event the cause of the riot victims would be jeopardized.
13. That it is the humble submission of the applicant that all the records including important documents, files, affidavits pertaining to 1984 riots picked up by D.R.I., be got returned to applicant.
14. That the C.P.U.s and record pertaining to the newspaper run by applicant be got returned as the same is hampering the normal functioning of the newspaper.



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage

-: 5 :-

15. That the statements of the applicant dated 12 & 13 January 2006 taken by the D.R.I. Officials forcibly be treated as a retracted having no value in the eyes of law as the same were taken under duress and coercion and threat of false implication and arrest.

In view of the above, the applicant most humbly prays that a C.B.I. enquiry be got instituted against the erring D.R.I. officials responsible for their illegal acts against the applicant for trying to ruin the case for justice of the 1984 riot victims.

Hoping for the early and speedy justice and stern action against the erring officials of D.R.I.

### APPLICANT

GURCHARAN SINGH BABBAR  
Printer publisher, Quami  
Patrika Group of Newspapers.  
415, Pratap Bhawan,  
Bahadurshah Jafar marg, Press  
Area, ITO,  
New Delhi-110002

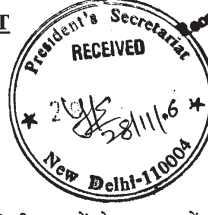
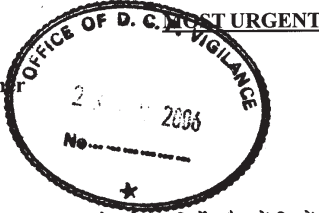
### COPY TO:-

1. Hon'ble President of India
2. Hon'ble Prime Minister of India
3. Hon'ble Union Minister of finance
4. Hon'ble Chief Justice of Hon'ble Supreme Court of India.
5. Hon'ble Chief Justice of Hon'ble High Court of Delhi.
6. Hon'ble Speaker Lok Sabha.
7. Hon'ble Speaker Rajya Sabha.
8. Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor, Delhi.
9. Police Commissioner of Delhi.
10. Dy. Commissioner of Police, North, Ashok Vihar, Delhi.
11. Station House officer, Mukherjee Nagar, New Delhi.
12. President Indian Newspaper Society, New Delhi.
13. National Human Rights Commission.
14. Chairman Minority Commission.

## कौमी पत्रिका

लोकप्रिय दैनिक हिन्दी अखबार

Office of the Commissioner of Police  
28/11/06



Dated: 28-11-2006

The Police Commissioner  
Police Head Quarter  
I.T.O.  
New Delhi

विषय: "नवम्बर 1984 हत्याकाण्ड" में मारे गए निदोष सैकड़ों सिखों की हत्याओं के पुख्ता सबूतों को मेरे घर व पांच दफ्तरों से दिनांक 12-1-2006 को जबरन उठाकर ले गए **Director Revenue Intelligence (DRI) Delhi Zone** के अधिकारियों के खिलाफ तुरंत FIR दर्ज करके उन्हें गिरफ्तार किया जाए। क्योंकि DRI अधिकारियों ने एक गहरी राजनैतिक साजिश के तहत हत्याओं के सबूतों की दो महत्वपूर्ण फाइलें पूर्व केन्द्रीय मंत्री तथा "1984" बंगों के दोषी जगदीश टाईटलर और लोकसभा सदस्य सज्जन कुमार को दे दी जिससे जगदीश टाईटलर और सज्जन कुमार ने अपने खिलाफ महत्वपूर्ण गवाहों को तोड़ लिया। जबकि जगदीश टाईटलर, सज्जन कुमार के खिलाफ C.B.I. में जांच अभी चल रही है और इस मिलसिले में, मैंने आपको दिनांक 20-1-06, 23-1-06, 27-1-06, 9-2-06, 15-2-06, 20-2-06, 6-9-06 को लिखित सूचना देकर पहले ही अगाह कर दिया था। परन्तु समय पर कार्रवाई न होने की वजह से D.R.I अधिकारियों ने एक गहरी राजनैतिक अपराधिक साजिश को आखिर अन्जाम दे दी दिया। मैंने इस गहरी राजनैतिक साजिश की सूचना आपको देने के साथ-साथ (i) President of India, Rashtrapati Bhawan (ii) Prime Minister of India, South Block (iii) Home Minister of India North Block (iv) Finance Minister of India, South Block (v) Ministry of Information & Broadcasting (vi) Chief Justice of Supreme Court, Supreme Court New Delhi (vii) Chief Justice of Delhi High Court, Delhi High Court New Delhi (viii) Lt. Governor of Delhi, Raj Niwas (ix) Director C.B.I. Lodhi Estate New Delhi (x) Central Vigilance Commission (xi) Police Commissioner of Delhi Police Head Quarter New Delhi (xii) President of I.N.S., Indian News Paper Society को दिनांक 20-1-06, 23-1-06, 27-1-06, 9-2-06, 15-2-06, 20-2-06, 6-9-06 को भी लिखित सूचना भेजी थी इन सभी शिकायत पत्रों की प्रतिलिपियां मैं इस शिकायत पत्र के साथ आपके ज्ञात के लिए आपको नथी कर रहा हूँ।

मान्यवर,

एक गहरी राजनैतिक साजिश के तहत DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों ने मेरे घर व पांच दफ्तरों से "नवम्बर 1984 हत्याकाण्ड" से सम्बंधित सभी महत्वपूर्ण व पुख्ता सबूतों वाली फाइलें दिनांक 12-1-06 को जबरन उठा ली। और यह सारी फाइलें और Computer मेरी गैर मौजूदगी में DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों ने उठाई है। और मैंने कई बार DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों से विनम्र अनुरोध किया है कि हजारों निदोष सिखों की हत्या करने वाले बड़े अपराधिक राजनेताओं के इशारे पर काम न करें, परन्तु DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों ने अपने राजनैतिक आका व पूर्व केन्द्रीय मंत्री जगदीश टाईटलर और सज्जन कुमार को हत्याओं के बड़े संगीन मामले में बचाने के लिए उन्हें महत्वपूर्ण फाइल दे दी। उन फाइलों में से एक फाइल में पूर्व केन्द्रीय मंत्री जगदीश टाईटलर के खिलाफ (एक बुजुर्ग सरदार जिनका पूरा नाम सरदार सुच्चा सिंह है वह किंगजवे कैम्प औरट्रम लाईन की एक बैरक में एक छोटे व कच्चे मकान में अब भी रहते हैं) ने जगदीश टाईटलर पर "1984" में हत्या व हत्याओं की साजिश के गम्भीर आरोप लगा रखे हैं और वह महत्वपूर्ण फाइल DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों ने जगदीश टाईटलर को दे दी और उस फाइल में रखे Affidavit को पढ़कर जगदीश टाईटलर उस बुजुर्ग व्यक्ति सरदार सुच्चा सिंह के पास गया और उसकी गरीबी व लाचारी का फायदा उठाकर जगदीश टाईटलर ने उस बुजुर्ग सरदार सुच्चा सिंह से एक-एक Affidavit लिखवा लिया कि "नवम्बर 1984" हत्याकाण्ड में जगदीश टाईटलर निदोष है और मैंने उस पर कोई आरोप नहीं लगाया था और अगर कोई ऐसा आरोप मेरे नाम से है तो वह फर्जी आरोप है जिसका मैं खण्डन करता हूँ।

मान्यवर,

मेरे निवास और पांच दफ्तरों पर दिनांक 12-1-06 को DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों ने छापे मार कर "नवम्बर 1984" हत्याकाण्ड का सारा रिकार्ड उठा लिया था और जगदीश टाईटलर ने सिर्फ 10 दिन के अन्दर ही (यानि कि दिनांक 28-1-06 को सुच्चा सिंह से मिलकर व उसे लालच देकर अपने खिलाफ महत्वपूर्ण गवाह को तोड़ लिया और अपने खिलाफ सभी पुख्ता सबूतों को नष्ट कर दिया जबकि पिछले 20 वर्ष तक पूर्व केन्द्रीय

क्रमशः.....2

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage

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मंत्री जगदीश टाईटलर सरदार सुच्चा सिंह नहीं मिल सका। जबकि जगदीश टाईटलर के निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में ही सरदार सुच्चा सिंह रहता है और इस अपराधिक साजिश में स्थानीय विधायक सुरिन्दर सिंह बिट्टू की भूमिका बहुत अग्रणीय व सक्रिय रही है।

मान्यवर,

"नवम्बर, 1984 हत्याकाण्ड" से सम्बन्धित मुझे C.B.I. अधिकारियों ने अपने दफ्तर बुलाया और जिस मुकदमें की तफतीश के बारे में उन्होंने मुझसे जानने की कोशिश की है वह मुकदमा कांग्रेसी सांसद व दंगों के प्रमुख आरोपी सज्जन कुमार से सम्बन्धित था और उस मुकदमें में भी गवाह ने सज्जन कुमार के खिलाफ अपना बयान बदल लिया है और यह सभी पुख्ता सबूत मेरे पास थे। जो DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारी मेरे घर व दफ्तरों से उठा कर ले गये थे।

मान्यवर,

दूसरी तरफ DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारी "कौमी पत्रिका अखबार समूह" को बर्बाद करने की गहरी साजिश में जुटे हुए हैं। जबकि कौमी पत्रिका अखबार समूह दैनिक अजीत पंजाबी, दैनिक पंजाब केसरी, दैनिक हिन्द समाचार समूह, राजस्थान पत्रिका, हरिभूमि, दिल्ली प्रेस, डायमण्ड प्रेस वगैरह देशभर के सैकड़ों अखबार समूहों की तरह अपने अखबार समूह के लिए News Print, News Print Importer से Import करवाता है। अगर News Print Importer के किसी Container में News Print के Gram में कुछ फर्क है तो Custom विभाग उस पर Full Duty वसूल करे यानि कि जो Panality बनती है। वह News Print Importer से ली जाए। इसमें मेरा या मेरे अखबार समूह का कोई दोष नहीं।

हम News Print Importer से वही News Print Import करवाते हैं जो हमें RNI (Registration of News Paper) ने Permit कर रखा है।

मान्यवर,

DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों ने मुझे डाराने धमकाने के इरादे से सिर्फ मेरे ही अखबार समूह को बर्बाद करने के लिए तथा अपनी अपराधिक भूमिका को छुपाने के लिए मेरे घर व दफ्तरों में छापे मारे।

जबकि देश भर के लगभग सभी अखबार समूह अपने-अपने अखबारों के लिए News Print Importer से News Print Import करवाते हैं और जब कभी Custom के Rule के मुताबिक News Print Import नहीं होता या Paper Gram में फर्क होता है तो Custom अधिकारी News Print Importer से Duty वसूल करते हैं इस मामले में अखबार समूह की भूमिका नरादर रहती है।

मान्यवर,

DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारी मुझे चुप करवाने के इरादे से मेरे अखबार के News Print Importer को डरा धमका कर तथा बुरी तरह मारपीट करके उनसे मेरे खिलाफ झूठा बयान लिखवाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं।

इसके विरोध में मेरे News Print Import ने इस बारे में पुलिस स्टेशन थाना प्रीत विहार में रिपोर्ट भी लिखवाई तथा मानव अधिकार आयोग का दरवाजा भी खटखटाया और Delhi High Court में मुकदमा भी DRI (Delhi Zone) अधिकारियों के खिलाफ दायर किया है। और ऐसा ही प्रयास मेरे साथ भी दिनांक 12-01-06 और 13-1-06 को DRI (Delhi Zone) मुख्यालय में किया था और जिसकी सूचना मैंने अपने शिकायत पत्रों में लगातार दी थी।

मान्यवर,

मेरा आपसे विनम्र निवेदन यह है कि DRI (Delhi Zone) के इन सभी अपराधी अधिकारियों के खिलाफ तुरन्त कानूनी कार्रवाई करें। जिन्होंने एक गहरी राजनैतिक साजिश के तहत मेरे घर व मेरे पांच दफ्तरों से "नवम्बर 1984 हत्याकाण्ड" से सम्बन्धित सभी पुख्ता सबूत उठा कर अपराधियों के हवाले कर दिये हैं। और इस बात की भी जांच की जाए कि इस पूरी साजिश के पीछे कौन-कौन बड़े अधिकारी व राजनेता हैं।

धन्यवाद!

Cc. to:

- (i) President of India, Rashtrapati Bhawan
- (ii) Prime Minister of India, South Block
- (iii) Home Minister of India, North Block
- (iv) Finance Minister of India, South Block
- (v) Ministry of Information & Broadcasting
- (vi) Chief Justice of Supreme Court, Supreme Court New Delhi
- (vii) Chief Justice of Delhi High Court, Delhi High Court New Delhi
- (viii) Lt. Governor of Delhi, Raj Niwas
- (ix) Director C.B.I. Lodhi Estate New Delhi
- (x) Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh
- (xi) Central Vigilance Commission
- (xii) President of I.N.S., Indian News Paper Society
- (xiii) Registrar of Newspaper, R. K. Puram
- (xiv) Commissioner Custom Tuglkabad, Delhi
- (xv) D.C.P. Ashok Vihar, Delhi
- (xvi) D.C.P. Central Disst.
- (xvii) S.P. Ghaziabad (U.P.)

(गुरचरन सिंह बब्बर)

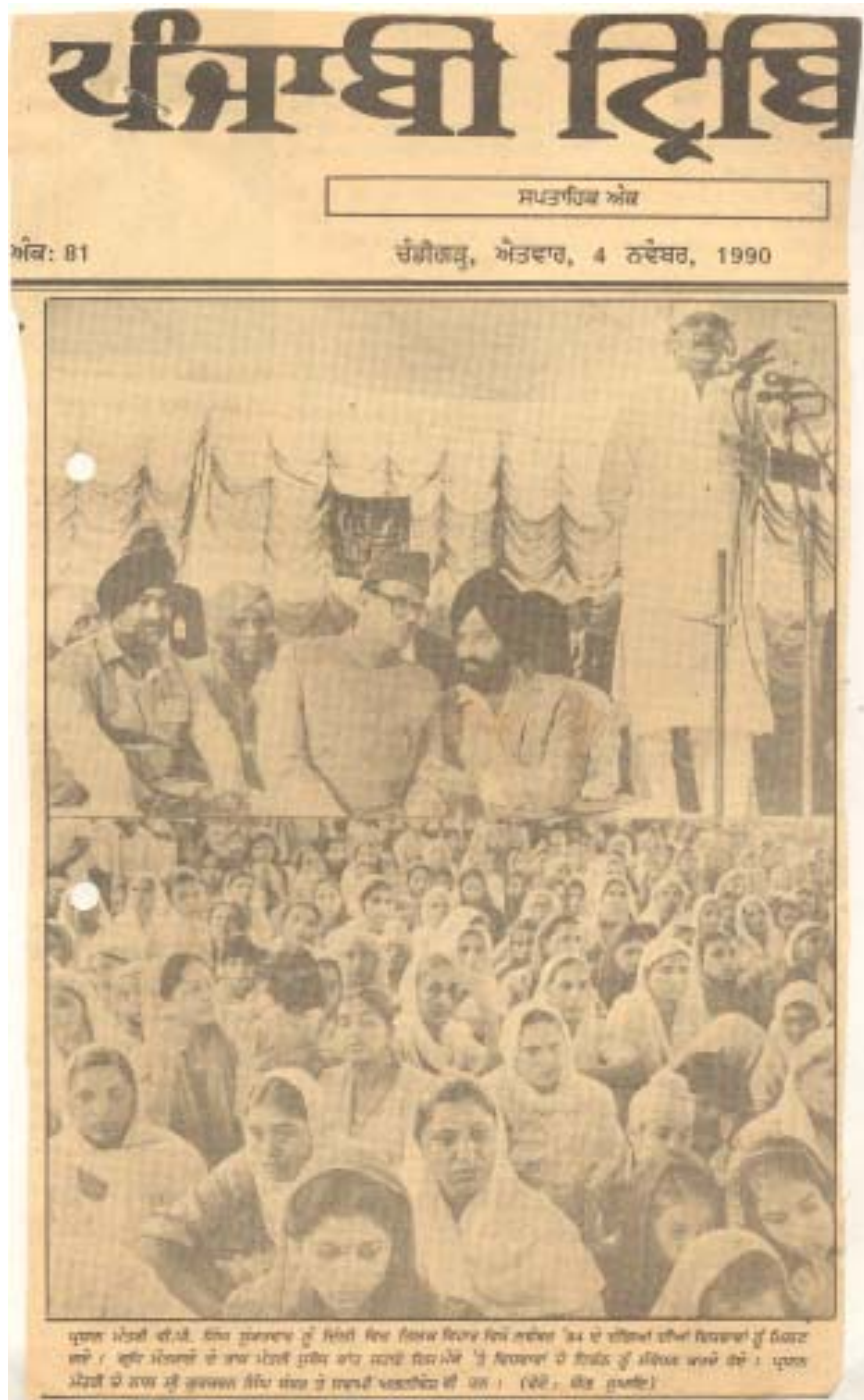
कौमी पत्रिका अखबार समूह  
प्रकाशक/ सम्पादक



## **DELHI POLICE : A DEN OF CRIMINALS**

*It is absolutely shocking that even those police officials, who were found guilty by the various government-appointed commissions of inquiry, are still prowling free. The Delhi Police's own Riot Cell also found 72 officials guilty but no action has been taken against any one of them. Even more shocking than the fact that no action has been taken against these officials, is the promotions given to many of them. Have they been rewarded for their crimes or what?*

*The most sordid stories of violence reported by Sikh families from some of the worst-affected colonies, including, Trilokpuri, Mongolpuri, Nangloi, Sultanpuri, Sagarpur and many areas of east Delhi, were the result of the participation of some police officials. The violence in the areas under their control was better-organised and more grotesque. In Trilokpuri, for instance, police officials personally presided over the killings of 700 Sikhs in one day. For three long days, the colony looked like a bazaar of a corpses. No police official even cared to remove the dead bodies. What is more, some police officials alleged to have indulged in the anti-Sikh violence, were given awards for gallantry by the President of India in 1997. If these shocking facts do not prove that the violence was well-planned and organised; nothing else will.*



PUBLIC MEETING ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)



# PARTICULARS OF POLICE OFFICERS/MEN INVOLVED IN NOVEMBER 1984 RIOT IN DELHI

Sl.	Name with rank	Posted in 1984 As indicated By Dad	Present Posting	Present Position	Date of Birth
1.	Shri H.C. Jatav	East	Home Guard		2.3.34
2.	Shri Sewa Dass	East	PTS	DCP	17.9.45
3.	Shri Chander Prakash	East	Dig/Arunachal Pradesh		22.11.41
4.	Shri U.K. Katna	West	Dig/Raw		15.12.48
5.	Shri Ajay Chadha	South	M/O Urban Development		30.8.53
6.	Shri R.C. Kohli	Railway	Home Guard		8.6.42
7.	ACP Mahabir Singh	North Add. DCP/Security	DCP	10.3.50	
8.	ACP Roop Chand	North	ACP/Security	ACP	1.2.39
9.	ACP Raghbir Singh Malik	North	Retd. DCP	Retd. DCP	6.9.30
10.	ACP S.M. Bhaskar	East	R.P. Bhawan	ACP	22.1.45
11.	ACP R.S. Dahiya	West	ACP/Subzi Mandi	ACP	30.7.45
12.	ACPO.P. Yadav	South	ACP/R.P. Bhawan	ACP	11.9.45
13.	ACP Durga Prasad	North	ACP/PCR	ACP	2.3.44
14.	ACP Raghunath Singh	North	ACP/IGI Airport	ACP	20.12.59
15.	ACP R.D. Malhotra	East	Retd. ACP	Retd. ACP	17.5.30
16.	ACP Purshottam Dass	East	1st Bn. DAP	ACP	12.6.50
17.	Sheodeen Singh, ACP	West	ACP/Tilak Nagar	ACP	5.8.45
18.	ACP Jai Pal Singh	South	ACP/Traffic	ACP	10.7.44
19.	ACP Jagdish C. Sharma	West	ACP/Vig.	ACP	8.1.38

## INSPECTOR

20.	Inspr. Shoorvir Singh Tyagi	East	Frro	Inspr. No. D.I/281	10.7.53
21.	Inspr. Hari Ram Bhatti	West	IGI Airport	Inspr. No. D.I/566	1.6.37
22.	Inspr. Jai Singh	East	A.C. Branch	Inspr. No. D.I/39	10.6.42
23.	Inspr. Ram Chander	West	North. West	Inspr. No. D.I/356	11.5.48
24.	Inspr. Ram Pal Singh	West	A.C. Branch	Inspr. No. D.I/115	7.1.36
25.	Inspr. Ram Mehar	East	FRRO	Inspr. (Retd.) 30.6.88	27.6.30
26.	Inspr. T.P. Sharma	Cr. & Rly.	Spl. Branch	Inspr. No. D.I/333	10.1.37
27.	Inspr. Sadhu Singh	Cr. & Rly.	IGI Airport	ACP (Retd.)	9.10.32
28.	Inspr. Jai Bhagwan Malik	North	P.C.R.	Inspr. No. D.I/204	1.4.46
29.	Inspr. R.C. Thakur	East	Traffic	Inspr. No. D.I/251	6.1.44
30.	Inspr. Hawa Singh	West	Traffic	Inspr. No. D.I/344	10.11.40
31.	Inspr. Bhim Singh	East	Traffic	Inspr. No. D.I/137	27.2.35
32.	Inspr. R.P. Singh	East	North. West	Inspr. No. D.I/57	18.2.42
33.	Inspr. Rohtash Singh	South	P.C.R.	Inspr. No. D.I/315	10.3.43



Nov. 84 Carnage widows addressing the Press Conference near Rajghat, New Delhi



**SUB. INSPECTOR**

34. SI Sri Chand	East	IGI Airport	SI (Retd.)	15.11.31
35. SI Manphool Singh	East	P.T.S.	Inspr. No. D.I/26	22.11.40
36. SI Som Prakash	East	East	SI (Pre. Mat. Retd.)	1.8.34
37. SI Babu Lal	West	West	SINo. D/1836	30.7.53
38. SI Ram Chandra	West	PTS	Inspr. (Retd.)	15.7.30
39. SI Shakti Singh	South	North.East	Inspr. No. D.1/231	5.7.47
40. SI Ishwar Singh	South	PCR	SINo. D/862	7.1.49
41. SI Sat Prakash	North	2nd Bn. DAP	Inspr. No. D.1/580	24.2.48
42. SI Surinder Dev	East	PCR	SI (Retd. 30.9.89)	9.9.31
43. SI Tulsi Dass	East	PCR	SI (Retd.)	3.5.30
44. SI Mani Ram	East	3rd Bn. DAP	Inspr. No. D.1/535	1.11.58
45. SI Jagdish Prashad	East	North East	SINo. D/381	10.7.34
46. SI Laxmi Chand	South	10th Bn. DAP	SINo. D.1168	1.4.47
47. SI Bhawar Singh	South	Cr. & Rlys.	SI (Expired)	9.12.34
48. SI Iqbal Singh	North	North	SI (Retd.)	15.11.29
49. SI Satpal Kapoor	East	FRRO	Inspr. No. D.896	8.4.46
50. SI Ram Singh	North	North	Inspr. No. D.1/114	1.1.46
51. SI C.L. Jataw	East	Security	Inspr. No. D.1/543	3.1.45
52. SI Om Parkash	Central	South.West	SINo. D.1313	1.8.52
53. SI V.P. Rana	South	FRRO	SINo. D.1313	1.8.52
54. SI Ganesh Tiwari	South	Spl. Branch	SINo. 934.D	3.8.38
55. SI Jai Bhagwan	North	PTS	Inspr. No. D.1/541	1.4.46
56. SI Sadhu Ram	East	New Delhi	ASINo. 1544.ND	13.5.49

**ASST. SUB.INSPECTOR**

57. ASI Amar Nath	North	North.West	SINo. 152/D	8.5.40
58. ASI Mange Ram	North	6th Bn. DAP	SINo. 2040/D	10.7.37
59. ASI Raja Ram	North	North.West	SINo. 1393/D	11.7.42
60. ASI Attar Singh	West	West	SI (Vol.Rtd.) No.1308/D	10.2.38
61. ASI Rameshwar Nath	Central	Security	SI 413/D	4.7.40

**HEAD CONSTABLE**

62. HC Jai Chand, m6/W	West	PCR	SINo. 906/D	2.7.46
63. HC Rajbir Singh, m26/E	East	FRRO	ASINo. 2933/D	14.1.43
64. HC Hargopal Singh, 117/E	East	Retd.	HCNo. 117/E	19.11.29
65. HC Gautam Shipkar, 136/E	East	IGI Airport	ASINo. 2768/D	4.5.49

**CONSTABLE**

66. Ct. Munshi Rammil, m126/E	East	East	HCNo. 216/E	3.2.52
67. Ct. Khazan Singh, m 340/W	West	West	Ct. No. 340/W	12.1.36
68. Ct. Mohindra Singh, 977/C	Central	2nd Bn. DAP	HCNo. 51/Crime	9.9.57
69. Ct. Ishwar Singh, No. 984/E	East	1st Bn. DAP	HCNo. 46/ND	18.11.46
70. Ct. Jeeraj Singh, No. 826/E	East	West	HCNo. 357/W	10.1.35
71. Ct. Raj Kumar, No. 693/E	East	PCR	HCNo. 453/PCR	20.9.56
72. Ct. Gajraj Singh, 429/E	East	1st Bn. DAP	Ct. No. 6088/DAP	30.1.47



Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

NOTICE TO WITNESS

(U/ 160 Cr.P.C.)

To

श्री गुरुचरन सिंह गुब्बर  
N-31, डा. मुखली नगर  
(वक्ता सिनेमा के फल) दिल्ली

Whereas it appears that you are acquainted with the circumstances of the case noted below, which I am now investigating under Chapter XIV of the Code of Criminal Procedure, you are hereby required to attend before me on the <sup>217th</sup> ~~16th~~ day of oct 2006 at (time) 9.30 AM at (place) CBI Office, SCR-I, C-I Hutments, Dalhousie Road, New Delhi for the purpose of answering certain questions relating to the case.

(Note:- Non compliance of this notice is an offence).

Particulars of the case:

Crime No.

RC 25(S)/2005-SIU-I Year 2005 U/s. 147/148/149/302/201/395/436

CBI OFFICERS  
THREATENING TO  
MR GURUCHARAN SINGH BABBAR  
THROUGH WELL PLANNED AND  
WELL ORGANIZED STRATEGY

Signature, designation of IO  
Central Bureau of Investigation  
SCR-I, C-I Hutments,  
Dalhousie Road, New Delhi.  
Tel. No. 2301 5218 (0)  
2301 5229 (0)  
SYED SAJID ALI  
Dy. Superintendent of Police  
CENTRAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
S.C.R.-I, NEW DELHI

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Some of the women affected by the November '84 riots demonstrating at India Gate in New Delhi on Friday.—TOI photo.

### Wiping a tear from their eyes

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, August 12: With tears streaming down their faces, about 300 women hit by the November 1984 riots today listened to opposition leaders assure them that they were with them in their fight for justice.

The women, most of them widows, had marched from Anar Jawan Jyoti at India Gate to the Boat Club, where they were addressed by the BJP president, Mr L. K. Advani, the Akali Dal leader, Mr Shaminder Singh, LL. Col. Jagjit Singh Aurora, the Janata leader, Mr Surendra Mohan, the CPM leader, Mr Basudev Acharya, and others. The women presented the leaders with a memorandum prepared by the All India Sikh Conference.

#### TALKS OF WOE

Incumbent with grief, the women related to the leaders their tragedies — a woman's son killed before her own eyes, with nobody coming to her aid, a woman's two sons burnt alive, a

woman's 21-year-old son killed just after seven months of his marriage. The women complained that the Rs. 400 pension available to widows was not enough, and neither were the Rs. 1,000 jobs that some of the riot-hit women had been given. "How can we marry off daughters with this kind of money?" they asked.

Mr Advani told the gathering that some of the Prime Minister's much promised formulae or plans to solve the Punjab tangle could work unless the guilty in the November 1984 riots were punished. What happened during those five days in November, he added, was worse than the partition riots in his home state of Sind.

Mr Shaminder Singh, Akali Dal MP, said despite his party's repeated requests, the Congress had refused to observe even a two-minute silence in Parliament as a mark of respect to those murdered in the riots. When the government was not even prepared to do this, he added, how could it be

expected to take action against the guilty.

#### ACTION AGAINST GUILTY

LL. Gen Aurora said the government could not afford to take action on guilty men all in the Congress. Calling the government a fraud, he declared the ruling party would lose in the next elections.

Mr Basudev Acharya, CPM leader, said the government's intentions were dishonest, which was clear from the fact that the Rangswath Mishra report had still not been discussed in Parliament, and that there had been no implementation of the Jain-Bosei panel recommendations.

Mr Narayan Dube, CPI MP, assured the women that millions of non-Sikhs were with them in their fight. What they should do now was convey the gravity of their plight to their non-Sikh brethren, so that in the new awareness thus generated, the guilty would lose in the next elections.

# CONGRESS (I)'S VICIOUS ANTI-SIKH CAMPAIGN AND ITS IMPACT ON THE MASS MIND

Sikh religion, born as a sword-arm of Hinduism, gave a rare gift to every believing Sikh—a pride and joy in his or her religious identity, rooted in the belief that they were born to fight oppression and to defend the underdog. This is the psychology which attracted Sikhs in large numbers to the defence forces. While such beliefs took care of the community at a spiritual and essential level, the flourishing agricultural economy of Punjab, armoured the community materially.

The anti-Sikh violence in November, 1984, however has changed everything for the entire community. Fear and echoes have replaced song and laughter for which the community was known until that cruel November.

The Congress party's vicious role in planning and executing the anti-Sikh violence is a foregone conclusion but it would be worthwhile to examine the party's nasty role in turning the mass psychology against Sikhs in the few years preceding the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The Punjab political problem, which saw the rise of Sikh militancy and an unprecedented form of state terrorism, is largely believed to be a creation of the Congress (I) party. It is an open secret that the Sikh militant leader, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, had the full backing of the Congress party which wanted to use him to crush its main political rival in Punjab, the Akali party. It is besides the point that Bhindranwale outsmarted Mrs. Gandhi.

The essence of the Akali Dal's political programme, before militancy hijacked everything in Punjab, was, decentralisation and a reasonable balance of power between the centre and the states. The Congress party was never interested in addressing the



MR. BABBAR ADDRESSING THE CARNAGE VICTIMS FAMILY NEAR  
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, NEW DELHI



issue, its sole interest being to finish the Akalis as a political force. The Congress policy of finishing its political rivals through hook or crook, is what saw the rise of militancy in Assam, where a students' movement against the infiltration of foreigners into the state and their inclusion in the electoral lists (to serve as vote banks for the Congress (I) party), degenerated into an “anti-national” movement. The Congress party and government at the centre launched a systematic campaign against the Assam students movement leaders, accusing them of being anti-national and sectarian. In Andhra Pradesh, the Telugu Desam party too was dubbed as parochial and a threat to the nation's unity. In Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah was removed as chief minister for having "become an instrument of anti-national forces”.

What the Congress government did to the Akalis' political campaign for decentralisation is too well known to be repeated but, it must be underlined here that it was the Congress which was solely responsible for converting a political campaign into a communal issue, which, eventually, threw the entire state into the arms of terrorism. And, let nobody forget that a majority of the terrorists were also the creation of the Congress party. In a nutshell, anybody who opposed the Congress party was dubbed as anti-national, such sentiments having come from forceful propaganda over the years based on slogans like this, “*Indira is India and India is Indira*”. The stranglehold of such beliefs over the party is evident from the fact that Rajiv Gandhi described the entire political opposition as anti-national in an election speech and campaigned all over the country against the Anandpur Sahib Resolution (the basis of the Akalis' political campaign in the late 70s and 80s) as being an anti-national document.

It is the Congress which is responsible for throwing the state of Punjab, both the administration and the militant leaders, into the lap of terrorism. But for its devious policies, militancy would never have acquired the deadly face it did and ordinary Sikhs, who had nothing to do with politics, would not have acquired the image of terrorists.



## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

Anybody who has followed the political moves of the party over the last two decades, knows that everytime the party saw its own political and electoral fortunes under threat, it raised the bogey of anti-national forces being at work in India although, it is an open secret that every secessionist movement in the country had the party's backing. Not just this. Name any communal riot in the country which did not have the participation of the Congress party, both direct and indirect.

Now, let us examine the Congress party's cunning manipulation of nationalistic sentiments. The party seem to be suffering from paranoia about a “threat to India's unity.” Around every election this paranoia gets heightened. Its refrain of a threat to national unity is almost sickening. Why is the party constantly harping on this tune? To keep itself alive? Or to divide people on communal lines?

If by being secular it can do what it did to the Sikhs, can we imagine the harm that it can do when its secular mask comes off? In November 1984 the Sikhs were used as guinea pigs in a new electoral experiment, to woo the majority community votes. The killing of Mrs. Gandhi instantly united the Hindus of India behind The Congress. It was to unite the Hindus and to stoke their communal sentiments that the conspiracy behind the massacre of Sikhs was aimed, an aim in which the party had an astounding success. It was this sentiment which helped the party win the biggest ever mandate in the 1984 general elections. Rajiv Gandhi got the mandate not even his grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru (a true secularist), could get. Who knows whom the party will use next.

Besides, by raising the bogey of a threat to national unity and security, the Congress has succeeded in keeping national attention away from crucial issues—poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and other basic problems of the population. It is this assiduously-raised bogey of the Congress which clouded the minds of the intelligentsia during those death-filled days. Earlier, the intelligentsia failed in its responsibility to correct the image of Sikhs, as projected by the official propaganda machinery. It just kept lapping up all that it was fed by the ruling party. The end result

نڈرا گاندھی کے قتل کے بعد دہلی فسادات کی انکوائری نے ہوش اڑا دیے

# سابق کا کمرگسری ایم پی پر مقدمہ

سیجن کمار

سنی دہلی۔ تین سال قبل ۱۹۸۴ء میں کمرگسری ایم پی سی کے قتل کے واقعے میں ملوث ہونے پر سیجن کمار کو عدالت نے سزا سنائی تھی۔ لیکن ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔ ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔ ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔

لہذا دہلی میں فسادات کا گمان کے رشتہ داروں کو گرفتار کر کے ہونے لگے۔ جن میں ایک قاتل بھی شامل تھا۔ ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔ ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔

## سیجن کمار

ان تین یا چار عکاسی جماعت کے لیڈروں میں سے تھے جنہوں نے سنی دہلی پر فوجی فساد میں ہتھیار اٹھائے۔

پولیس کے مطابق ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔ ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔ ان کے خلاف اب ایک نیا مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔

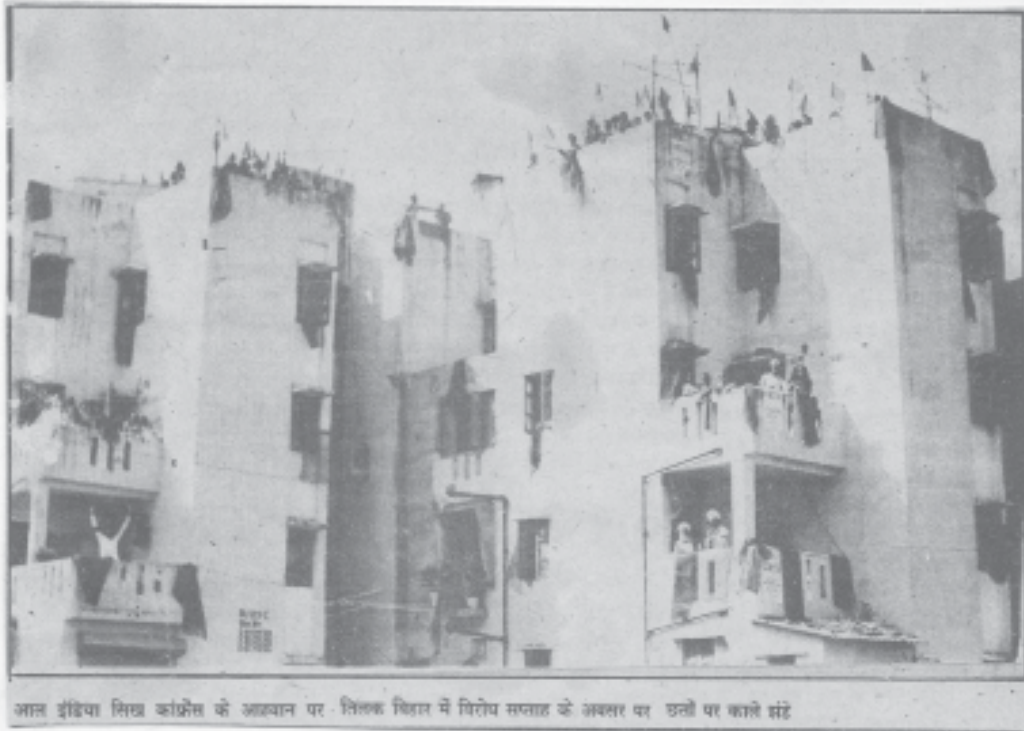
was that even during those days of grotesque anti-Sikh violence, its view was blinkered. Instead of playing a constructive role to contain the violence, it added fuel to the fire. For example, the late Girilal Jain, then the editor of Times of India, wrote a front page editorial on November 2, 1994. The editorial reminded the readers about how terrorist killings were carried out in Punjab and went on to say that the events preceding that day (the anti-Sikh violence) should serve as an eye-opener to the Sikhs and their political leadership, the Akali Dal. In other words, Sikhs, who were being massacred could still take some moral lessons from the violence. The editorial echoed the same sentiments that the leaders of the Congress had employed to get the community butchered. Similarly, many other intellectuals have contributed to the smear campaign against Sikhs.

Former editor of Navbharat Times, Mr. Rajendra Mathur and that of Jan Satta, Mr. Prabhash Joshi, for instance, have been harping on the following tune in their writing: The fanatic nature of the Sikh political leadership and the resultant anti-national character; the failure of ordinary Sikhs to resist terrorism because of their natural sympathy being with Khalistanis and terrorists and the role of the Akalis in the political turmoil that faced Punjab for over a decade and the threat to national unity because of their politics. These writers also advocated hard measures to put down the Sikh leadership.

Such examples are enough to prove the role played by the opinion makers, especially in the mass media, in shaping the psyche of the anti-Sikh mobs. And against this backdrop, it would not be far-fetched to state that a very strong section of the national media was as instrumental in the anti-Sikh violence as were members of the government. Don't we all accept that the mind that plots a crime is deadlier than the hand that executes it ?

How deadly secularism can be, we saw for ourselves in the first week of November, 1984. Sikhs are the enemies of India, they are all Khalistanis (just as Muslims are all Pakistanis). This belief took such roots in the mind of the majority that they could





## 'Black Week'

By A Staff Reporter

The All-India Sikh Conference (AISC) which is observing a 'Black week' against the government's inability to bring to book the culprits responsible for the November 1984 riots has accused Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of complacency.

In a statement today AISC general secretary Mr Gurcharan Babbar said it was a shame that the Prime Minister had not even mentioned the November 1984 riots during his speech at the Congress(I) rally yesterday.

Though four years have lapsed the guilty are still roaming scot free and some are even holding ministerial posts, he said.

The AISC plans to hold a march from India Gate to the Boat Club on November 4 which will be attended by all democratic oriented opposition parties.

ORGANISED BY ALL INDIA SIKH CONFERENCE (BABBAR)

turn a blind eye to savage killings right under their noses. By looking the other way, the majority community lent an implicit support to the anti-Sikh violence and the reason behind it was the carefully cultivated hostility against the Sikhs in the mass mind. While it is true that the police, the administration and the Congress party members were involved in the violence right from start to finish, had the Hindus at large come out in sizeable numbers to counter the mobs, it would never have happened. Even the help lent by individual Hindus made a big difference in saving the lives of thousands of Sikhs. Collectively, the Hindus could have saved many thousands more.

Another factor that seems to have played a big role in the anti-Sikh violence is jealousy. A predominant part of the community lives in Punjab, which, with its fertile land, has made its people economically much more forward than the rest of the country. The prosperous state of the Sikh community apparently played a significant role in arousing violence. There are hundreds of people who took part in the violence, lured by the booty that could be had from the shops and houses of Sikhs. Of course, the mobs could not distinguish between the prosperous and the poor Sikhs because there was no time or mind for making such distinctions. So, they took a potshot at every Sikh.

To conclude, I would say that this new chapter in the history of free India, written in the blood of Sikhs, born to be the defenders of Hinduisim (a role they performed with aplomb) is the biggest blotch on our nation. It is not the material poverty line under which lie the living dead of India that should shame us as much as the poverty line of humanity under which the whole nation lives. The genocide of 5,000 Sikhs and the subsequent callousness with which the whole system has treated the issue exposes, like nothing else, the utter mental and spiritual poverty of the Indian people.

## Compilation on 1984 riots released

By Our Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, Nov 4  
"Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam" - a compilation of news reports,

eyewitness accounts and correspondence relating to the November 1984 riots - written by Mr. Gurcharan Singh Babbar, president of the All-India Shiromani Akali Dal (Babbar) and general secretary of the All-India Sikh Conference (Babbar), was released here today.

The 320-page compilation, containing photographs and letters written by the author to various people in connection with the riots also lists politicians and police officers allegedly involved in the massacre. The book has been brought out by Babbar Publications Pvt Ltd and was released by the three women, widowed in the tragedy.

According to Mr Babbar the book has been dedicated to the memory of more than 5,000 innocent Sikhs killed and hundreds of Gurdwaras and Granth Sahibs destroyed.

Describing the riots as engineered, the author accuses the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi; the then Home Minister, Mr P.V.Narasimha Rao; former Ministers Arun Nehru, Bhajan Lal, H.K.L.Bhagat and Jagdish Tytler apart from the then Home Secretary Mr M.M.K.Wali, P.G.Gawri and the then Police Commissioner, Mr Subhash

Tandon.

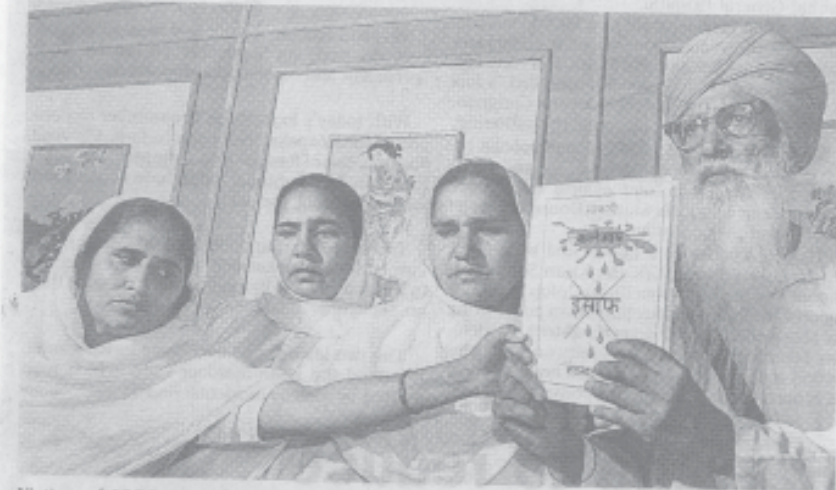
As many as 5,000 people were killed, 50,000 rendered homeless, 20,000 injured and hundreds of gurdwaras set ablaze, he said. Women were raped publicly and property worth crores of rupees damaged. These figures are mentioned in the forward.

There is a special reference to the role played by the judiciary. As the massacre was going on, the Supreme Court remained a mute spectator. Are the Bofors, hawala, urea, Lakhubhai and fodder scams more important than the killing of thousands of innocent people, where judiciary has taken suo motu notice, the writer wondered.

There were emotional moments when Darshan Kaur and Satnam Bai, main witnesses against Mr H.K.L.Bhagat and Mr Sajjan Kumar respectively, broke down at the book release function. The first copy of the book was given to Baba Milap Singh, who lost seven members of his family in the riots at Trilokpur.

Talking to reporters, Mr Babbar said that the book was a compilation of tragedy, truths and facts of the carnage. He said the role of the judiciary was shameful and the 14 commissions constituted to probe the riots had not done justice to the victims.

Mr Babbar said the silence of the victims was like a dormant volcano and would not be pacified until justice was meted out to them.



Victims of 1984 riots releasing a book 'Sarkare Qatl-e-Aam', written by Mr. Gurcharan Singh, president of All-India Shiromani Akali Dal (Babbar) in New Delhi on Tuesday.



# MISHRA COMMISSION REPORT AN ANALYSIS

Several independent reports of inquiry into the anti-Sikh violence shortly after the events, established the role of the Congress party in the violence. These reports also confirmed that the violence was systematically planned and organised. Prominent among the independent reports was, “Who are the Guilty?” by two human rights groups, the People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL). The other groups who pressurised the then Congress (I) government at the centre to set up a government commission of inquiry, included, Citizens for Democracy (CFD), Citizens' Justice Committee (CJC), Citizens' United Forum and Anti-Communal Forum. The judicial commission set up by the government was headed by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court, namely, Justice Ranga Nath Mishra. The Mishra Commission report was tabled in parliament on February 23, 1987. Following is an analysis of the report:

The Mishra Commission of Inquiry was set up on April 26, 1985 under section 3 of the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952. To begin with, the Commission was assigned to probe the anti-Sikh violence in Delhi alone. Later, after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi signed a peace accord with Sikh religious leader Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, the Commission's scope of inquiry was expanded to include a probe into the violence at Kanpur, Bokaro and other places.

Although the setting up of the Commission was a welcome step, it was established after much ado and under pressure, first from the human rights groups and then the communal groups. But for the pressure, it might never have been set up, which does not speak well for the intentions of the Rajiv Gandhi government. This, in itself, is a point disfavoring the validity of the subsequent inquiry.

***Prior to the establishment of Mishra Commission, the government had set up at least ten commissions of inquiry to probe various incident of communal***



**violence**, prominent among them being, communal violence at Malagaon (1967), Ahmedabad (1967), Bhiwandi (1971) and Hyderabad (1984). However, there is one essential difference between these commissions and the Mishra Commission : They, unlike Mishra Commission, were set up almost immediately in the wake of violence. The government took six months to set up the Mishra Commission and it took the Commission another three months to hold the first hearing (on July 29, 1985). The Commission went off to sleep after the first sitting. Its second sitting was on September 2, 1985. On September 11, the Commission demanded that under section 5 of the Commission of Inquiry Act, it should be assisted by an agency to aid its task, a demand that was ignored by the government. On November 5, the Commission, in a strongly-worded letter, repeated its demand. This means a gap of a full twelve months before the Commission could start its probe. The Commission took ten months to write its report and submitted it to the government in August, 1986. The government sat on the report for another six months and tabled it in parliament only in February, 1997.

The second point to note about the features of the Commission is the purpose and scope of inquiry. *All the other commissions for probing communal violence had to address the following main questions. “The cause of violence and the actual event”. The Mishra Commission, however, was asked to address one basic question, “whether the violence in the wake of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination was organised (as alleged by several independent reports and witnesses)”*. From this, it is evident that the Commission's role was limited to investigating whether or not the anti-Sikh violence was planned and organised. *In other words, its purpose was not to probe the cause of violence or to find out the guilty*, which speaks volumes for the futility of its establishment.

The dailly-dallying in the setting up of the Commission and its limited purpose and scope, by themselves, cloud its credibility. Even within the limited scope of inquiry, the commission could not have done a fair job because PUDR and PUCL, the two independent committees that probed the anti-Sikh violence and reached the conclusion that the violence had been organised, were not allowed to participate in its proceedings.

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)

Similarly, Citizens' Justice Committee (CJS), which played a crucial role in the relief work for the families of the victims, was not given enough opportunity to present its version to the Commission. PUDR and PUCL, which dissociated themselves from the official inquiry, did so on two main grounds: The proceedings should not be in-camera and the media should be allowed to report day to day on the proceedings, they said. Both the demands were, however, rejected and the two independent groups quit in disgust. This act of theirs was described as “irresponsible” by the Commission but *the report did not mention that the Akali Dal and CJS had also declined to work with the Commission on similar grounds*. The four groups enlisted by the Commission did not have the suitable credentials but they worked with the Commission from start to finish.

*The way Justice Mishra conducted the inquiry also raises serious doubts about the credibility of his report. The Commission received 2905 affidavits but it selected only 128 out of them as proof. Nobody knows what the selection criterion was. Later, it was discovered that the Commission rejected many affidavits because they would have contradicted its findings, especially, those that related to the role of the Congress party leaders and workers.* Eventually, even out of the 128 affidavits selected by the Commission, only 30 were the subject of investigation. The investigation was only limited to the “proof” submitted in the affidavits and no independent attempt was made to investigate any other aspect of the violence.

Many of those who were associated with the Commission complained that they were not shown the necessary documents and their questions and queries were scuttled, either on the grounds that they were “unnecessary” or that they “were not in public interest.” CJS has complained that the Commission did not even allow it to question the police and why it had not used force to stem the violence. The commission's uniform reaction to such queries was that they were “irrelevant” and “unnecessary”.

The most serious complaint against the Commission relate to the statements made by witnesses and officials who were questioned. Only some of the many who





Mr. Babbar led the demonstrator in December 1984 for justice outside Rashtrapati Bhawan

wanted to testify were allowed to do so and even they were not allowed to give a complete picture. Again, many senior officials' accounts were kept secret. The testimony of 11 officials before the Commission was treated in a separate category (separate from the witnesses' testimony). This was not only arbitrary but clearly violated the provisions of the Act under which the Commission was set up. Because of such arbitrariness, the Commission's inquiry was totally lop-sided and unfair. One of the most shocking aspects of the report is the fact that, out of the 2905 affidavits received by the commission, 2266 or 78 percent of them, have been listed in the category, "affidavits against the riot-affected". If this does not underline the utter perversity of the Mishra Commission Report, nothing else can.

The report is divided into two parts, the first, dealing with an account of the events, an examination of the affidavits, probe into the role of the police and the administration and, an analysis of the anti-Sikh violence in Delhi, Bokaro, Kanpur and Chans Tehsil. The second part lists the court cases relating to the violence, the rehabilitation schemes and programs of the government and an analysis of the affidavits.

Although, by the look of it, the report is methodically divided into various sections and sub-sections, a close study reveals the report to be very shoddy. There is no clarity, no method, no attention to facts or details and to make matters worse, the report rambles on and on, especially, with regard to the alleged role of the Congress leaders in the violence (all the while trying to clear them of involvement). The result is a messy report, full of repetitions and, at places, even contradictions.

The report quotes many writers and intellectuals, the quotes being either totally irrelevant and misplaced or reeking of sympathy with the killers rather than the killed. For instance, read the following statement in the report, quoting Adam Smith. "It is in human nature to punish evil." Other thinkers and philosophers quoted in the report include Karl Marx and Rabindranath Tagore. Had the Commission spent even half the time it did on quoting and writing utterly irrelevant things, on examining the affidavits, it may have served some purpose.



# Losing faith in the law

**New Delhi, Dec. 5.** The rumors spread that Binetsi Thak Nagra Mani and his wife had been killed by the police and goes were going to be arrested, leading to hell a lull in the celebration. The bright new lights of the thousands, prosperous market the crowd wants to go to the ill and the elderly surroundings of Thak Nagra where nearly 5,000 families suffered in the infamous November 1984 riots are packed into 870 G. Bars and a sprawling shantytown of 2,000 newly kept shacks. The residents of the shantytown center lifestyles not long ago. Fear brought them together to Thak V. and his son.

...some of it [the committee's investigations]," she says. "There are so many eye witnesses. Why hasn't he been arrested so far?" She claims that she herself saw Kumar during those three violent days. "Yes, he was there himself. But most of the time it was his clannish, Gupta crew," she says. "I saw him at the roadblock, Narain Pradhan and the other shop owner Harnath who

"Don't forget Larry," chips in a

just under four welcomes in a gracious inn her one-room cottage, parting remains that also look like up as doors. "Berrants" from our pucca house in Sukumbh, she says with unnecessary enthusiasm; meeting the pucca to convey that she did not always live in the slums.

The radio, the bedspread on the floor that occupies half the shack, the curtain that demarcates the kitchen within the shack, the little shelf with a pressure cooker and other utensils in the "kitchen" and the general order and cleanliness all suggest that the inhabitants enjoyed to better living conditions just two long ago. "Scary about the lack of space," she says apologetically.

Kumar is well-informed. She has heard of the Rs 90,000 relief recently announced by the government. She also knows about the anti-Bharosee committee which recommended the arrest of former congress(I) MP Sajjan Kumar for allegedly instigating murder-suspects in Sabrang. "Nothing will

"They took away everything," he says in a matter-of-fact tone. He is too bewildered to ask for justice but joins the crowd as we move on.

In the L&G flats live the lucky few who got apartments from the Defini administration. Ajay Kumar and his two sons aged eight and 12 are among them. "Look, how young

one way, she says, producing a photograph of her dead husband.

colony. "But the fact remains that this is the environment in which these children are growing up. At least these two are very young; the

cooler ones, the ones in their more  
will get warm if you breath the  
subject. They are waiting for the  
opportunity to strike back at the  
killers of their near and dear ones.  
They won't be satisfied till the kill-

As we walk down the main road

Amateur with her children, on stage. She also has about 2000 e-mails.

"They killed him before my eyes and burnt him. I recognized every person involved and so do my sons." To prove her point she quizzes the younger boy: Did you quarrel the younger boy? Did you hate us? Did you ever get total abuse? This time, I could not resist and

A few slacks near his burner caught the last four sons in the riots and racks of rioting else. All his four sons were killed the same day: two of them—Anil and Amar—and two of the last four Kumar—were not a holiday from where they used to work.

of the All India Sikh Conference, has been trying to bring the Sikh youth back into the national mainstream. But does not appear too confident in the task. "We have to succeed in this task," he says, "by reaching to awaken their hopes for justice," says a depicted slogan. "In the early days, soon after the riots we told them that we must adopt legal methods to redress our grievances and seek justice. This engagement, Singh goes on, is not going down well with the Sikh young men, as the results are unsatisfactory even when there are some external powers ready to take up the cause. These results, he says, have been over and over again,"

[illegible]

The picture is gloomy like the surroundings. And the police check post at the entry point to the campus completes the scenario. Some sickle and voluntary organizations are making food for the ailing and the feeling of alienation of the sick is, but the question is, "are

Amra Singh, who is the secretary.

Besides, the report is full of language and factual errors and it seems that the Commission did not even get its basic facts right. For instance, the report repeatedly refers to Delhi police DIGs (Deputy Inspector General) although in Delhi, the post of DIG was abolished in 1978. Another example of the Commission's general knowledge is that the report refers to Delhi as the "fastest growing city in the world." According to the census of the last four decades, out of the Indian cities with a population of over 25 lakhs (2.5 millions), the rate of growth of population in at least 20 cities exceeds Delhi's rate of growth. Even among the metropolitan cities, Delhi is not the fastest growing city. In yet another instance of the Commission's ignorance about basic facts, it is pertinent to point out that the Commission refers to the seventh five year plan as closed in 1985 whereas the plan ended in 1990.

According to the Commission, the violence began as a result of a sudden and spontaneous upsurge although later some anti-social forces took over the scene and carried it out in a planned way. The report says that the local police stations delayed informing their seniors and chiefs about the violence which is why the Police Commissioner and other wings of the government failed to contain or control the situation. ***It has held the Delhi police guilty of dereliction of duty but the administration the Congress party and government have been absolved of all responsibility for the violence.***

Let us examine some of the main conclusions of the report:

#### The role of the anti-social elements and the Congress (I)

The reports says that the "riots" started spontaneously and the situation became uncontrollable because of the involvement of anti-social forces who went about indulging in violence in a very organised way. "Even Satan follows a design and this what the gangsters and anti-social forces did in carrying out the killing....." "The violence was not planned and organised by any political party but by criminal gangs whose numbers have alarmingly increased in Delhi." According to the report, the rise in the strength of

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Demonstration Organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar)  
for justice at Boat Club, New Delhi

**Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam**  
**Organised by Indian Govt.**

criminal gangs is directly proportional to the rise in Delhi's population, especially, the rise in the numbers of industrial labour force. Besides, crime incidence has increased in Delhi and there has not been a proportional increase in the strength of the Delhi police force. All these factors aided the anti-Sikh violence in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, according to the report.

The Commission's bright views about Delhi's population ("it is the fastest growing city in the world") have already been examined. Now, let us find out whether its view on the rise in the numbers of Industrial labour in Delhi is correct or not. According to official statistics, Delhi has reported the maximum increase and rate of growth in the population of office-goers, businessmen and traders. The Commission's view that the increase in the Delhi police force numbers has not been proportional to the rate of increase in crime, is also incorrect. And, even presuming that both the observations, about the rise in industrial labour force and less than proportional (to the crime rate) rise in the police force of Delhi, are correct, what is so special about these features that should have led to anti-Sikh violence at such a large scale and for so many days in Delhi? These features can be attributed to any large city, even those, where Sikhs are in a majority. Why didn't violence take place in those cities?

Apart from making such generalisations and basing its absurd conclusions on them, the Commission has not cared to define expressions like "anti-social" forces who, it says, were responsible for organised violence and, thousands others, who do not fall in the category of 'anti-socials' who participated in the Violence. "Many of them were regular members and supporters of the Congress (I)" says the report. The Commission has not stated anywhere the difference between the "anti-socials" and those who "do not fall in this category." Nor has it specified which category the Congress members and supporters fall into and, yet, the Commission's conclusion is that the Congress party was not responsible for the "riots" at any stage.





ANGRY 1984 CARNAGE VICTIM NEAR PARLIAMENT

The Commission's conclusions are based on statements by officials, including Lt. Governor P G Gavai and Deputy Commissioner R P Sethi (who is described as District Magistrate in the report) and half-baked and arbitrarily-selected affidavits. In support of its conclusion that the Congress was not responsible for the violence, it says that had the Congress (I) engineered the “riots” no area under its rule would have been spared. Besides, the Congress leaders' appeals for communal harmony and peace right after the “riots” also prove that the allegations against the party are baseless, says the report.

There are contradictions galore in the report. The report gives a clean chit to the Congress party and at the same time it holds 19 party members guilty, without giving their names. Out of those 19, six names are the same as those given by the PUDR and PUCL report. The reference to the 19 Congress members in the report seems to be based on a list provided by the Delhi Sikh Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee (DGPC) in a written statement to the Commission. The DGPC gave two lists, one which refers to the 19 members mentioned in the report and another one listing 13 top leaders' names. The Commission has apparently blacked out a mention of the second list given by the DGPC (obviously to suit its pre-conceived conclusions).

The Commission makes a special reference to the allegations levelled against former union minister HKL Bhagat for his involvement in the anti-Sikh violence. In the 30 affidavits which form the basis of the Commission's report, not one carries the name of Bhagat and yet the report absolves Bhagat of any involvement for want of “solid proof”. The report also refers to the hundreds of counter-affidavits (supporting Mr. Bhagat) it received. These affidavits in support of Mr. Bhagat imply that Mr. Bhagat and his supporters anticipated or were aware of the bias in the testimonies of witnesses. Besides, the Commission says, it also investigated the affidavits which named him but found the allegations against him baseless. **Bhagat gets a clean chit first and then,**

## Indian Government-Organised Carnage



Dharna organised by All India Sikh Conference (Babbar) near Home Minister Office, Delhi



**in the second part of the report, which lists the 30 affidavits on which the conclusions are based, we do not find any allegation against him. From this, the readers can draw their own conclusions about the intentions and conclusions of the report.** If there are no allegations against him, what is he being absolved of and why?

The main report also has the names of two Congress workers, namely, Dr. Ashok and Himmat Rai. They were named in affidavits no 2367 and 2706 but the Commission did not think that these affidavits merited an investigation.

Sajjan Kumar's name finds no mention in the first part and, in the second, he has been issued a clean certificate.

The role of the Congress, as analysed by the Commission, leads us to the following three conclusions, each more absurd and contradictory the other. Mr. Bhagat is not guilty (but there is no allegation against him!), Mr. Sajjan Kumar is not guilty (but did the Commission examine the allegations ?) and the Congress party was not involved in the violence although 19 of its members find a mention in the report.

### **THE ROLE OF THE DELHI ADMINISTRATION AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.**

The commission has not paid much attention to analysing the role of the Delhi administration and the Central Government. The Commission's conclusion about their role is that for two days the Delhi administration and the central government did not come to know about the violence. It has already been pointed out that newspapers published front page news about a top-level meeting at the prime minister's residence on October 31. And yet, the Commission insists that they did not know about the

situation. For Mr. Gavai, the Commission has special words of concern and sympathy because he had a serious heart attack before the “riots” and was supposed to have handed over charge to another person. The Commission states that Delhi needs an “able, clever, resolute, visionary and sensitive” administrator. Mr. Gavai, who had a heart attack before the “riots” and was apparently unable to do anything on account of his bad health, retired soon after and joined the Congress party (he left it to join the BJP some time ago but is back in the Congress now).

According to the Commission, the delay in calling the army was caused because the police headquarters did not get the requisite information from their junior officers on time. The Commission sounds upset with the Lt. Governor and the Police Commissioner for this.

The Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) has also been given a clean chit although it is an open secret that the bus services were in full operation during the carnage, having been used to transport the killers and their weapons. The Commission, even while observing that some DTC men were instructed “not to tell anybody where and how the buses were used,” does not think they are guilty.

If there is one organ of the state against whom the Commission has made any criticism, it is the Delhi police. But here too it blames the junior officers for serious neglect of their duties while the seniors have been partially absolved on the plea that they could not gauge the gravity of the situation (because of the delay in getting information from their subordinates).

The Commission says that some “uniformed cops” indulged in looting and violence but their number was “quite small.” “It is possible that there was nexus between the police and anti-social elements at some places,” it adds. The most important question, whether the police was under any political pressure, was not addressed properly by the Commission. The report says that the Commission asked many police officers whether

they were under any political pressure but they all denied this. The report say that this question was addressed so pointedly that, had there been any truth in the allegation (that the police were under political pressure), it would have become evident. It does not take long for us to find evidence of the Commission's "strict inquiry" into this question. A Deputy Commissioner R.P. Sethi, (who is referred to as Deputy Magistrate in the report), was asked by the commission whether the police deliberately neglected its duty. Mr. Sethi's reply was, "I do not think that the police openly indulged in violence nor do I think that they were an under any political pressure." The commission asked Mr. Sethi to explain what he meant by "pressure." "I meant pressure from the local political leaders but in the absence of any concrete proof I cannot say the source of the pressure. However, it would be correct to say that the police did not do its duty. I just felt that there was some pressure that prevented them from doing their duty. In my view, had the police gauged the situation on October 31 and sought assistance from the army, it could have prevented the violence". The Commission agrees with Mr. Sethi.

According to an observation made in the report, "the police always sides with the ruling class, which is a gift of British imperialism in India....." The police, according to the conclusions reached by the report, is mainly responsible for the violence but, the most important question, whether the police neglected its duty wilfully and under pressure or directions from the political powers-that-be, has been left untouched.

### ***SUGGESTIONS TO PREVENT SUCH VIOLENCE***

In part two, sub-section two, the report suggest ways to prevent such violence in the future. Some of the general suggestions are : The number of police station and police personnel should be increased and police training centres, which would breed ideal care-takers of the country's law and order, should be opened. Voluntary organisations, which played a major role in the relief work after the killings, should be encouraged and aided by the government, it says.

This suggestion reeks of double speak considering that Commission itself contemptuously sidelined two of the major voluntary groups, PUDH and PUCL, who could have lent it valuable support in its inquiry into the violence.

School children should be given religious education to promote nationalism, brotherhood and self-sacrifice and, finally, the mass media, especially, the electronic media, should recast its programmes and policies in a patriotic mould.

Apart from such recommendations of a very general nature, the report also lists some specific recommendations. Compensation for the victims' families should be raised from 10,000 rupees to 20,000 rupees, the government should give them employment, recommendations which were accepted by the government but it must be pointed out that the relief recommended by the Commission falls pathetically short of what some independent agencies recommended.

According to official statistics, revised time the again, the number of those killed in the "riots", ranges from 101 to 2307. The Commission notes that the constantly changing stand of the administration about the number of those killed does not bode well for its seriousness in dealing with the relief work and recommends that clear and proper investigation be done into this aspect. Surprisingly, the government assigned this task to the home secretary whose negligence in the first place led to the confusion in the official figures about the killings.

The most glaring example of the Commission's malafide and motivated investigation into the violence is that, despite PUDR and PUCL cautioning it against revealing the names of the witnesses who testified against political bigwigs, the Commission published their names and addresses while blacking out the names of those alleged to have been involved in the violence.

# **995 DEMONSTRATIONS LATER THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IS STILL ON**

Following is a long list of the steps that I have taken to keep the issue alive and to see that justice is done, not just to the thousands of those directly affected by the anti-Sikh violence but millions of those whose lives and minds are under siege on account of what they heard, saw and felt during those death-filled days.

From November 7, 1984, to the end of 2010, the following measures were taken for the cause of the victims' families : A total of 995 demonstrations, including, hunger strikes, rallies, courting arrest, peace marches (one was taken out along a 140 kilometer route, from Delhi to Karnal) scores of meetings with important members of the government and protest demonstrations by the victims' families, including the thousands of widows and old parents of the victims and a country-wide tour alongwith 31 human rights activists in 1992.

The big-wigs I personally met as part of my crusade, include, prime ministers, the chief justice of the Delhi high court and supreme court of India and members of parliament. The media has carried hundreds of reports, based on my press conferences on the subject.

Justice has not been done. Not one of those guilty for the anti-Sikh crimes has been convicted and punished. The struggle will continue to ensure that the guilty, especially, the master-minds behind the violence, are brought to book.

# UNSUNG HEROES

*The Sikh community owes a great debt to the ordinary people of India, thousands of Hindus, Muslims and others, who risked their own lives and property to save its members. The main purpose of the book was to underline that, what happened in November, 1984 was not communal violence committed by one community against another but pre-planned and well-organised violence committed by a Congress government against Sikhs.*

*Had the anti-Sikh violence been the handi-work of communal forces, it would neither have been on such a large scale nor would it have affected the Sikhs alone. For proof of the positive role played by ordinary Hindus, we just have to mark the following facts: Immediately after the carnage, the people who swung into action to help the survivors with material and moral resources were Hindus; those who reported the violence in the newspapers were Hindus; a majority of those who demanded punishment to the guilty were Hindus and thousands of those who have lent a hand in the victims' families continuing struggle for justice are, either Hindus, Muslims or Christians.*

*It is very important to remember that the Congress party is the chief culprit in the anti-Sikh violence. It is the same Congress party which claims to be secular and pro-minorities. There is not a single communal riot in the country in which the party members and workers did not play a role. Even at the individual level, the Congress party members are notorious for their crimes. For proof, we need not go beyond one of the latest crimes involving a*

*Congress member. Congress Youth Congress leader Sushil Sharma is behind bars for allegedly murdering his wife, cutting her body into several pieces and then trying to 'cremate' it in the tandoor of three-star hotel kitchen right in the heart of New Delhi. The Congress workers and supporters, most of whom are history-sheeters, can be found in large numbers participating in demonstrations of all kinds. The party claims to have a country-wide following, it has ruled India for 45 out of 50 year after freedom from the British rule, it claims to be secular and pro-minorities and it has the largest network of workers. However, in the last 14 years, not one of its leaders has opened his or her mouth on the November, 1984 Sikh genocide. Their silence itself speaks for their guilt. The Congress party is a wolf in sheepskin and the nation must not allow the wolf to rule and ruin its basic fibre.*

**A note on the Sikh Community**

*I am a Sikh and a student of history, two features which have given me a deep understanding of the psychology of Sikhs. We are an emotional people and can do or die for a cause. Sikh history is replete with examples of people who died after a valiant fight for truth and justice. Hari Singh Nalua, Udham Singh, Bhagat Singh, Mehtab Singh, Sukhdev Singh Sukha, Harjinder Singh Jinda and Surjit Singh Penta, to name a few. As a Sikh I also know the wounds that the events of November, 1984 have caused in our hearts. These wounds will bleed forever and the community will never forget who has given it these wounds.*



## ***SOME SHINING EXAMPLES OF COMMUNAL HARMONY AND PEACE***

*Following is a list of people—writers, social and human rights activists, whose contribution to the restoration of the Sikh community's faith in brotherhood can never be forgotten.*

*Mssrs Rajni Kothari, Govind Mukhoty, Rajendra Sachchar, Kuldip Nayyar, Bhisham Sahani, Justice V M Tarkunde, Justice Sikri, Justice V K Krishna Iyer, Swami Agnivesh, Kailash Satyarthi, I K Gujral, Chndrashekhar, L K Advani, A B Vajpayee, Ramvilas Paswan, Vinod Tiwari, N D Pancholi, Bajrang Singh, Rahul Bedi, Alok Tomar, Ram Bahadur Rai, George Fernandes, Ram Jethmalani, Arun Shourie, Prabhash Joshi, Anil Narendra, Arun Jaitley, Surendra Mohan, Madanlal Khurana, Vijay Kumar Malhotra, Choudhri Viresh Pratap, Deepak Kumar, Mohammed Sajid, Inder Mohan, Aurobindo Ghosh and many women, including, Pramila Dandavate, Madhu Keshwar, Pravin Rikhi, Jaya Jaitley and Jaya Srivastava, besides human rights groups, such as, People's Union for Civil Liberties ( PUCL) and People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR). Not to forget Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) O P Tiwari and Sub-Inspector Yukti Ram.*

## **Delhi Police has to answer these questions if not today then tommorrow:-**

- ☞ How many hospitals were opened in Delhi from 31<sup>st</sup> October till 4<sup>th</sup> November where wounded Sikhs were taken by police?
- ☞ How many Sikhs were brought dead and how many lost their lives during treatment at government hospitals? Delhi police has to give the data?
- ☞ How many dead bodies were recovered?
- ☞ How many dead bodies were cremated after punchnama?
- ☞ How many were subjected to a post mortem examination? Where were the post mortem examinations done and at which hospital?
- ☞ How many doctors performed the post mortem on 5,000 dead bodies of Sikhs and where were they employed?
- ☞ Record says that 5000 Sikhs were killed. The fact is accepted by the Government. Where are the post mortem reports of the killed persons? Where are the pictures of the Sikh people who were killed? Were family members called to identify the bodies of their siblings and relatives?
- ☞ Where did government gather dead bodies of Sikhs?
- ☞ Where did Delhi police cremate the dead bodies and which religious procedure did they use to cremate the dead bodies?
- ☞ What types of vehicles were used to carry the bodies and who spent money to bring vehicles?
- ☞ How many days did Delhi police take to cremate dead bodies?
- ☞ Who was the concerned authority? Who gave orders to cremate dead bodies?
- ☞ Who were involved in picking up the dead bodies from diverse locations?
- ☞ How many days did Delhi police wait for the relatives of dead Sikhs before cremating them?
- ☞ Did Delhi police give bio data of dead people in national dailies and regional newspapers? If yes, then tell us the names of the newspapers?

- ☞ How many dead bodies of Sikhs were handed over to their relatives? If the answer is no, then why? Don't they think it's crucial, after all killed Sikhs were also the citizens of the country?
- ☞ Within four days 4000 Sikhs were killed. Then it is obvious that Delhi police was present while the cremation was carried out? Where are the bodies of Sikhs it's a big question. Can Delhi police tell? The dead bodies went to Pakistan or the dead bodies went to hell. Moreover, it is not possible that killers have taken the dead bodies to their home? The government would have planned with different agencies to dispose the dead bodies? Or any neighboring country helped our sincere government?
- ☞ It was evident that Delhi police conspired against Sikhs. This could be done only when high rank officials give orders. Can somebody tell us, According to Indian penal code? If somebody is killed then what does Delhi officials do at the first place? Why did police commissioners had blamed dead Sikhs from 1<sup>st</sup> November till 10<sup>th</sup> November 1984 in press conferences, who had directed them to say like this? As far as we know at that time M.K Wali was the Home Secretary. Can somebody tell us, According to Indian penal code? If somebody is killed then what does Delhi officials do at the first place?
- ☞ Did Police register complaints against those who were involved in the case, if no then why did not they do it? It means all big politicians and police officials were involved and they had directed them to do so.

*These questions should be answered by Delhi Government in near future.*

**Thank you readers for supporting us.**

---

Gurcharan Singh Babbar  
(Author)

Sarkari Qatl-e-Aam  
Organised by Indian Govt.

# 5,000 FIVE THOUSEND INNOCENT KILLED



WIDOW'S  
WAITING FOR JUSTICE

“November 1984”